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ABSTRACT

The papers in this document feature four themes: religion and education, the nature of childhood and its relationship to education, urban educational problems, and the character of educational journalism. Part 1 begins with "A Common Faith for the Common School? Religion and Education in Kansas, 1861-1900" (J. C. Carper) which compares in two parts the responses of Protestants and Catholics to religious education. "Educating 'Watch City': The Transformation of Education in Waltham, Massachusetts, 1840-1880" (G. M. Woytanowitz) discusses the reorientation of education in a rural community undergoing urbanization. "The Most Ordered of Rescues: A Reinterpretation of Childhood History and the Common School" (R. L. Schnell) analyzes Philippe Aries' interpretation of the relationship of childhood to institutions in the 19th century common school. Part 2, "Tribute to Harold B. Dunkel," begins with an introduction to Dunkel and his work by R. L. McCaul. "The Lively Educational Journalists, 1875-1900" (H. B. Dunkel) describes the growth of educational journals from local interest newspapers and the editors behind them. Part 3 begins with "The Urban Superintendency and the Depression: The Case of Thomas Warrington Gosling, Akron, Ohio, 1928-1934" (G. L. Hinson; C. M. Dye), which describes the state of education prior to Gosling's administration, his first years' triumphs, and the financial battles to keep the schools open during the 1930s. "Conservation and Proselytization: How Ancestry, Race, and Religion Shaped Parochial Education in Cairo, Illinois" (R. N. Barger) describes the racial segregation policy of the Catholic parochial school system along Irish, German, and Black lines, and the perception the parochial schools for Blacks had of themselves as missionary schools. The meeting program, business meeting's minutes, and a list of attendees are included. (DJC)

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Volume 6, 1978

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James C. Carper
George M. Woytanowitz
R. L. Schnell
Harold B. Dunkel
Gregory L. Hinson
Charles M. Dye
Robert Newton Barger

also the program of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The society is indeed grateful to Dr. Peter DeBoers who was the program chairman for our annual fall meeting. It was a program that achieved the high level of excellence that has come to be a regular occurrence at each meeting of the society. Again, it is also significant to report that the outreach of the society is increasingly evident by the fact that we had participants on our program from Canada, both the east and gulf coast of the United States as well as our midwest region. It certainly indicates the high degree of interest in the character, work, and scholarship that is being manifest by our endeavors.

The program, as always, dealt with many of the critical issues of education. The scholarship displayed shed new light on such vital topics as religion and education, the nature of childhood and its relationship to education, urban educational problems, the character of educational journalism, and American Indian education. We were also privileged to honor our colleague Harold B. Dunkel who is retiring from active teaching at the University of Chicago. Professor Dunkel has been an important part of our society since its founding. An active participant both as a charter member and a frequent program presenter, all of us in the society have enjoyed his incisive wit and tremendous scholarship. He certainly represents what each one of us aspire to be as members of our society and educational historians.

Again, as in previous years, we would like to acknowledge our friends at Loyola University for taking such good care of the society in providing us the proper surroundings for our deliberations. Their continuing hard work is greatly appreciated by us all. For our own institution, the University of Northern Iowa, the editor wishes especially to thank the graphic services and secretarial pool who process our manuscripts for publication and the personnel in the printing center who have always been cooperative and dedicated in the publication of each edition. They have always strived to improve the journal each year. In addition, the society wishes to especially acknowledge the Department of Educational Psychology and Foundations at the University of Northern Iowa for assuming a more active participation in the journal through the leadership of its department head Dr. Lawrence Kavich. To the many others, too numerous to name, the society and this editor wish to thank all for their efforts in making this sixth annual edition of the journal a reality, and bring to public attention significant research.

Edward Rutkowski

Editor

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PART I

A COMMON FAITH FOR THE COMMON SCHOOL? RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN KANSAS, 1861 – 1900

by

James C. Carper
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Church historian Robert T. Handy has observed that by 1789 the "idea of the establishment of religion by law at public expense had largely been given up, and the few remaining state establishments were soon to disappear."[1] Although legal establishment was abandoned, beliefs which were intertwined with it for over 1400 years persisted. Americans of various theological persuasions, including most of those who agitated for disestablishment, shared the traditional belief that the Christian religion must undergird the social order, that "society needed a unifying religious perspective and a broadly accepted morality...."[2]

In early decades of the nineteenth century there emerged a natural and spontaneous expression of consensus values of a young nation in which the evangelical Protestant worldview dominated. Despite the fact that the legal separation of church and state aroused a vigorous competition among the denominations, most Protestants cooperated in a crusade to fashion a Christian civilization in America. As Martin E. Marty has suggested, nondenominational Protestantism developed into a kind of "national religion."[3] By the middle of the nineteenth century this nonsectarian consensus on faith and ethics dominated the national culture and many citizens tended to equate Americanism with evangelical Protestantism.[4]

This pervasive Protestant influence was reflected in the field of public education.[5] To many Americans the common school was an integral part of an American civilization rooted in a Protestant morality. Most evangelical Protestants shared the conviction that it was the role of the common schools to prepare young Americans for participation in a "broadly Christian civilization."[6] While literacy training was important, the key function of the common schools was moral education. In addition to the moral instruction contained in the ubiquitous McGuffey readers and similar texts, Bible reading, usually from the King James Version, and nondenominational religious instruction was widespread. The Protestant majority viewed the Bible as a nonsectarian document and considered its moral teachings vital to the maintenance of Christian civilization in America.[7]

The Protestant coloration of the educational enterprise did not always meet with approval. During the years prior to the Civil War, many verbal and several legal battles were fought over the role of religious instruction in the schools.[8] Some citizens objected to the prevailing practice on the premise that it violated the freedom of conscience of non-Christians and the principle of the separation of

church and state. The major opposition to the Protestant-like character of the public schools came, however, from Roman Catholics who dissented on religious grounds. R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin summarized the Roman Catholic objection to the common school:

> Roman Catholic doctrine taught that no education could be complete unless it was permeated throughout with the teachings of Roman Catholicism. This obviously was impossible in a common school supported by the state and embracing children of many religious denominations. Thus, since its inception, Roman Catholic authorities had been objecting to the common school. In its early phases they objected to the fact that it taught the common elements of Protestant Christianity. Following the Civil War, when the common school curriculum had been further secularized, they objected to it because it was religiously neutral.[9]

This belief, which led Catholics to agitate for the abolition of Bible reading without comment and to demand public monies for denominational schools, usually served to further focus the ongoing conflict between the Protestant majority and the Catholic minority in the ante bellum years.[10]

Though with less acrimony, the conflict between Protestants and Catholics over the role of religion in the schools continued after the Civil War. As historian John Higham has noted:

> Although conflicts over public education between Catholic and non-Catholic groups had arisen before the Civil War, the Church had not been strong enough to press its traditional claims on a broad front. Now, however, it comprised a majority or near majority of the churchgoing population in some cities. Also, it was probably emboldened by the relaxed and tranquil state of public opinion. About 1869, therefore, Catholics in many parts of the Northeast and Midwest opened a campaign to eliminate the Protestant tinge that Bible-reading gave to the public schools, to secure for their own parochial schools a share of the funds that the states were providing for education....[11]

Even in areas where the Catholic population remained relatively small, Protestants felt obligated to continually defend their conception of public education against the threat of "Romanism." Regardless of the size of the Roman Catholic population, to most Protestants living in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, any Catholic criticism of the public school with its Protestant ethos seemed, according to Handy, "to eat away at the foundations of the Christian America they envisioned."[12]

Although Roman Catholics never comprised more than eight percent of the Kansas population throughout the nineteenth century and were,

for the most part, content to maintain parochial schools at their own cost, the issue of religious instruction in the public schools was the subject of a considerable amount of public comment not only by Protestants and Catholics but also a small number of secular-minded Kansans. Public discourse on the issue in Kansas followed post-Civil War national patterns as Americans continued to wrestle with the problem of fashioning a common school which was acceptable to persons of all religious beliefs. As was the case where Catholics were more numerous, anxiety about the decreasing influence of Protestantism in American life and the nationwide growth of the Roman Catholic Church during the last four decades of the nineteenth century was reflected in the public statements of those Kansans who believed that the common school with its emphasis on Protestant morality was one of the foundations of American civilization.

Like most of their counterparts in the ante bellum era, Kansans who were members of the Protestant majority were convinced that American civilization and Protestantism were closely related and that the common school should continue to bear the imprint of Protestantism in order to insure national progress and morality. One of the most straightforward opinions concerning the close relationship between Americanism, Protestantism, and public education came from an anonymous resident of Atchison. Writing to the *Freedom's Champion*, he praised the Protestant-like nature of the public school by claiming that "this age is purely American.... Americanism is Protestantism.... Protestantism is Life, is Light, is Civilization, is the spirit of the age. Education, with all its adjuncts, is Protestantism. In fact, Protestantism is education itself!"[13] Though employing more temperate language and following the common practice of substituting the term Christian for Protestant, H. D. McCarty, editor of the widely read *Kansas Educational Journal*, expressed the same sentiment. He argued that since the "Christian system of belief and worship was the religion of the nation...," then the "Christian element should predominate in the Course of Instruction."[14] In a speech to the Atchison Teachers Institute, Reverend Z. S. Hastings of Farmington also pointed out the relationship between Protestantism and American civilization as he argued for the necessity of teaching the "great principles of religion and morality found in Christianity" in the public schools. After elaborating upon the traditional assumption that the social order needed a religious foundation, he posited that "since we owe our political, social, domestic, intellectual, and moral pre-eminence to Christianity, it is necessary that we expect it in all our instruction in order to secure our perpetuity, progress, and happiness as a great and good nation."[15] Writing to the *Kansas Farmer*, Reverend L. Sternburg echoed Hastings' convictions on the relationship between Protestant Christianity and American society and proclaimed that teaching Christians morality in the schools was "fitting of a Christian people."[16]

But how was this "Christian" morality to be taught in the schools. Aside from textbooks which were usually permeated with spiritual and

moral values, most Protestants agreed that Bible reading without comment was an important source of moral instruction.[17] This strategy of moral education which prevailed in most parts of the country throughout the nineteenth century allowed Protestants to put aside denominational doctrinal differences and support the inculcation of the common moral and religious elements of Protestant Christianity in the common schools.

Although the supposedly nonsectarian practice of Bible reading without comment probably constituted a small part of the instructional program in most Kansas Schools during the nineteenth century, it was perceived as an important symbol of the belief in an American civilization rooted in Protestant morality. Any criticism of the practice, imagined or real, evoked a spirited defense of the Bible as the source of morality necessary to the maintenance of the American social order. Though there was no serious threat to the Protestant-like character of Kansas schools, many citizens felt the need to defend constantly the practice of Bible reading during the last three and half decades of the nineteenth century. The infrequent, but usually keen, criticism of the public schools by Kansas Catholics, the rapid nationwide growth of the Roman Catholic Church after the Civil War, and actions of the Church such as the papal publication of the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) and the proclamation as dogma of Papal Infallibility (1870-71) accounted, to a significant extent, for the continual defense of Bible reading in the schools. The increasingly secular tempo of American life and the more frequent questioning of the veracity of the Scriptures during the last decades of the century also contributed to the sensitivity of Protestants in Kansas as well as elsewhere.[18]

Kansas educators, as well as religious leaders and citizens, contributed frequently to the defense of the widespread practice of Bible reading as an indispensable mode of moral instruction. To Peter MacVicar, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Bible was the "best textbook on moral instruction ever published" and therefore should be read "in every school in the state."[19] A teachers institute held in Labette County shared MacVicar's conviction and resolved that the Bible was the "embodiment of morality." The teachers also expressed displeasure about the abolition of Bible reading in the Cincinnati schools.[20] Attention to the plight of Bible reading in other parts of the country was commonplace and was usually accompanied by a passionate defense of the practice. This probably explains why the emphasis on the policy of reading the Bible in the schools was particularly pronounced in Kansas during the late 1860's and early 1870's as well as the late 1880's and early 1890's, two periods in which the Roman Catholic hierachy actively agitated issues related to religious instruction in the schools.[21] Anxiety over the situation in Cincinnati was also evident at a teachers meeting in Atchison. There the participants lauded the Bible as the moral foundation of good government and resolved that the Kansas legislature should pass a law "securing the use of the Bible in our public schools."[22]

Though they did not join the Atchison teachers in their demand for a state law requiring Bible reading in the schools, many prominent Kansas educators agreed that the practice was a key to inculcating the moral code necessary for the maintenance of American institutions. Writing in the *Western School Journal*, M. M. Carson warned her readers that the removal of the Bible from the schools would have an adverse impact on the future of American society. "There is no greater basis for moral training than the Bible..." she declared, "[if abolished from the schools] God pity the rising generation and pity us all."[23] John MacDonald, editor of the influential *Western School Journal*, shared Carson's assumption that a biblically based morality was essential to the preservation of American civilization. "We cannot afford to ignore the book upon which our liberties are based," he asserted in a discussion of the role of the Bible in the public schools at a Kansas State Teachers Association meeting.[24] Like MacDonald and several other prominent educators participating in the discussion, S. S. Estey assumed that religion, morality, and civilization were inseparable. He argued that since the Bible was the "universal code of morality" and the nation rested on that moral foundation, then the Bible should remain in the public schools.[25] Following the same line of argument as Estey and his colleagues, L. L. Hanks, the chief school officer in Kansas City, Kansas, defended the role of the Bible in public education. Sounding very much like other educators of a Protestant persuasion, he declared:

> Since the Bible is the recognized standard of all moral and civil law, I believe such parts of it, as are suitable, should be read and taught in our public schools, not to teach dogmas or creeds, but to inculcate its teachings and the spirit of Christianity upon which all civilization, right living, sound morality, and love of humanity are based.[26]

Protestant clergymen joined educators in the defense of reading the Bible in the public schools. Like the schoolmen, they thought that Protestant Christianity and civilization were indivisible. Since they assumed that American civilization was undergirded by biblical principles, they believed that the Protestant-like practice of Bible reading without comment was essential to the preservation of a Christian America. This conviction was reflected in a letter to the *Wyandotte Gazette* by R. D. Parker, pastor of the local Congregational church. Responding to a Catholic priest's criticism of Bible reading in the common schools, he championed the practice on the grounds that "to the Bible this country owes its powerful institutions, its fruitful liberty, which excites the jealousy of many nations, its wonderful prosperity, and its numerous works of evangelization and benevolence."[27] In a speech to the Ministerial Association of Baldwin City entitled "The Bible and Common Schools," T. F. Houts also linked Bible reading to the maintenance of a Christian civilization in America. "The Bible alone contains a complete code of morals, and complete sanctions of virtue," he told his fellow pastors, "...assault on the Bible in the public schools is an assault on the very foundations of

our Christian institutions."[28] Likewise, Reverend R. P. Stephenson, editor of a Baptist weekly, the *Chronicle*, believed that reading the Bible in the schools was essential to the preservation of a healthy society. "The Bible is not a sectarian book, but is the foundation of good morals and good government," he affirmed in a lengthy article defending the role of the Bible in the schools. "Its reading cannot fail to be healthy and salutary."[29]

In letters to the local press, many citizens also expressed the conviction that the American social order rested upon biblical morality. Bible reading in the public schools was, therefore, assumed to be vital to the maintenance of a Christian nation. This belief was evident in a letter by Spencer Stearns to the *Chetopa Advance*. "If we are a Christian nation, (and we are) let us not belie the name, by the exclusion of moral culture and every public recognition of God himself, from our system of public education...," he asserted in a lengthy justification of Bible reading in the common schools.[30] J. N. Lee shared Stern's conviction. Writing to the *Kansas Educational Journal*, he argued that in order to sustain the Christian heritage of the nation the Bible should always be read in the schools.[31] In a letter to the *Fort Scott Monitor*, Mrs. A. Swisher, a resident of Pawnee, claimed that the national constitution was based on biblical principles. Like many other Kansans who thought that Protestant Christianity and American civilization were inseparable, she stated that "if we are to have the Bible and its influence banished from our schools, we take the first step toward destroying the power of our laws."[32]

Judging by the volume of commentary from educators, Protestant clergymen, and citizens justifying Bible reading without comment in the public schools, one might be led to conclude that either secularism or the Roman Catholic Church posed a serious threat to the Protestant-like character of the educational enterprise in Kansas. Such was not the case.

During the 1870's some secular-minded Kansans did object to the existence of any kind of religious practice in the public schools. They were, however, few in number and their opinions drew little attention. Several objections to the Protestant-like nature of the schools stemmed primarily from a skeptical attitude toward any form of revealed religion. A resolution by a group of citizens meeting at Mount Olivet reflected this posture. They declared that the school house should not be "polluted with any exercise pertaining to the Christian religion."[33] Writing to the *Manhattan Enterprise*, an anonymous citizen also decried the religious tone of the schools and Bible reading in particular. Sounding like the most bitterly denounced skeptic of the era, Robert G. Ingersoll, he asserted that reading the Bible filled the minds of children with "lies and errors."[34] In a similar fashion, the militantly secularist Kansas Liberal League condemned all religious practices in the public arena and especially Bible reading in the public schools. At a state convention the League resolved: "We demand that all religious

services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools whether ostensibly as a textbook or avowedly as a book of religious worship be abolished."[35]

Not all Kansans who wanted to eliminate all religious instruction from the public schools were hostile to religion or religious education. Citizens of this persuasion believed that since the common school could only be so by imparting instruction upon which all constituents were agreed, then it was wrong to mix secular and religious education because there was no common agreement on religious belief. They argued that if all religious education was given in either the home or the church rather than in the public schools, then the rights of private conscience would be respected and religious instruction would be much more efficient.

Although this point of view was not generally accepted until the twentieth century when evangelical Protestantism declined and American life was secularized, several Kansans urged the adoption of such a policy in order to avoid conflicts relative to religious education which they thought might destroy the common schools. For example, Marshall M. Murdock, editor of the *Wichita Eagle*, urged the elimination of all religious instruction to "preserve the common schools" from the ravages of sectarian conflict.[36] D. R. Anthony shared Murdock's sentiment. He argued that since Bible reading was objectionable to certain "classes" of people, the practice should be abolished in order to alleviate dissension over religious education and therefore contribute to the preservation of the common schools.[37] The editors of the *Leavenworth Commercial* also espoused what they called "square secularization" of the common schools. They maintained that if religious instruction continued in the schools, then there would be "never ending turmoil, if not complete destruction of our whole school system."[38]

As was the case with the beliefs of secular-minded citizens, the Roman Catholic Church in Kansas posed no grave threat to the Protestant-like character of the public schools during the nineteenth century. Catholics comprised a relatively small part, perhaps eight percent, of the population and were concentrated in several of the larger communities in eastern Kansas where they had maintained parochial schools since territorial days.[39] Compared to other parts of the country, particularly the urban Northeast and upper Midwest, Catholic agitation of the "school question" in Kansas was not significant. Public statements on the subject of religion and the schools were infrequent until the mid-1880's and even at that point Catholic commentary on public education was limited to a few clerics. It would appear, then, that the continual advocacy of Bible reading in the schools and especially the recurrent condemnation of the Roman Catholic position on the "school question" by the press, which will be

examined shortly, were due more to nationwide convulsions of anti-Catholicism, distrust of the "foreign nature" of parochial schools, and Catholic educators' demands for public monies for these schools in other parts of the country than to any serious Catholic threat to the school system in Kansas.

Catholic public comments on the issues related to religion and education were sporadic throughout the 1860's and 1870's and were similar to those expressed by pre-Civil War Catholic leaders such as Bishop John Hughes of New York. Believing that education was ultimately a religious undertaking and that the public schools had a definite bias toward Protestantism, several Roman Catholic clergymen complained that Kansas Catholics were taxed to support schools that they could not attend in good conscience. They thought that the solution to this problem could be achieved by dividing school funds among religious and non-religious groups. In other words, Catholic leaders wanted several public school systems rather than one. This plan would allow parents to send their children to Protestant denominational schools, Catholic schools, or secular educational institutions. Parents would, therefore, be able to exercise freedom of conscience in the education of their children.

In a series of letters to the *Wyandotte Gazette*, Father Anthony Kuhls of the German Catholic Church advocated this policy. After elaborating upon the plan for meeting the educational needs of religious and non-religious groups, he charged that to continue to tax Roman Catholics for schools they should not attend was "unjust...even if it was done in the whole of America."[41] The Catholic Union of Kansas also maintained that the policy of taxing Catholics for schools they could not attend was un-American and should be changed. The convention resolved:

> That it is the sense of the Catholic Union of Kansas that the present system of public education is in opposition to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States and we claim it is unjust to impose a school upon Catholics in direct opposition to their wishes.[42]

Like Kuhls and the Catholic Union, Father John T. Leary, pastor of the Catholic church at Stranger, thought that a division of the school fund would solve the problem of the place of religion in the schools. "The principle change we solicit," he wrote in a letter to the *Leavenworth Times*, "is that the school fund be so arranged, by equal distribution, that the parent can send his child to whatever school he wishes."[43]

As was the case in Kansas, there was little Catholic agitation of the "school question" in the country between the mid-1870's and the mid-1880's. However, in the decade following the Third Plenary Council, which in late 1884 decreed that all existing churches establish a parish school within two years and, with few exceptions, required

Catholic parents to send their children to these schools, Catholic leaders renewed their pleas for a share of state school funds.[44] Although their goal was generally the same as it had been in earlier years, the point of departure of their criticism of the public educational enterprise was somewhat different. In earlier pleas for public monies Catholics claimed frequently that the public schools were saturated with Protestantism. Though this charge was brought up in the late 1880's and early 1890's, it did not receive the emphasis it had in earlier years. Instead of stressing the Protestant character of the schools, Catholics were more prone to label them "godless." Catholic historian Thomas T. McAvoy has identified two situations in which this pejorative term was frequently used to describe the public schools:

> Those who had parochial schools tended to call the public schools "godless" and to demand that Catholics avoid them. Others who did not have parochial schools used similar arguments against the public schools in the hope of getting state aid to build denominational schools.[45]

Like their counterparts in other states, several Catholic leaders in Kansas described the public schools as "godless" during the last decade and a half of the nineteenth century. There were parochial schools in the state[46] and some Catholic spokesmen labeled the public schools "godless" hoping to coax Catholic parents to send their children to parish schools.[47] The primary reason for describing the public schools in such a manner was, however, to convince Protestants that it was to their benefit to join them in the agitation for public support of denominational schools.

From the mid-1880's until the late 1890's the pages of the *Visitor*, renamed the *Kansas Catholic* in 1885, were filled with acrimonious condemnations of the public school system. Charges against the educational enterprise were legion. For instance, E. M. Johnson claimed that the schools were "unchristianizing the American people and leading them to abandon their God."[48] Another commentator suggested that public schooling led to an increase in crime and vice.[49] John O'Flanagan, the outspoken editor of the *Kansas Catholic*, added to the indictments against the schools. "The American men and women of the future, who receive their education in the public schools will not be Christians of any kind," he declared confidently. "They will be Agnostics, Atheists, or Infidels, who will either not know God, care little or nothing for Him, or deny His existence altogether."[50]

Believing that education was inextricably intertwined with the Roman Catholic faith and realizing that Protestants also assumed that education should have a religious basis, Catholic leaders in Kansas attempted, unsuccessfully, to convince the Protestant majority that since the public schools were either "godless," or becoming so, they should join with Catholics and demand the division of the state school fund among religious and non-religious groups for the maintenance of

their own schools. The most vocal advocate of this policy was John O'Flanagan. From 1885 until 1898, when the *Catholic* was absorbed by a St. Louis paper, he tried to persuade Protestants of the wisdom of a system in which "all beliefs and 'sects' should have their schools public, and the parent be allowed to select the school to send his child to without 'discrimination' against his religious belief."[51] In a typical editorial urging Protestants to found their own schools and join Catholics in the crusade to make "religious schools public," he claimed:

> The object of Catholics is not antagonism to the public schools, but to bring the public schools to such a place as will justify the presence of Christian children in them--to make all schools publically supported. What the Catholics ask is not any injury to the present Godless schools for those who like them, but the freedom of an American citizen to choose the school for his children, and not be robbed of his taxes for schools for others that he cannot use for his own children....[52]

Despite the persistent efforts of O'Flanagan and his predecessors to sell the concept of public support for religious schools, the Protestant majority rejected such a policy. To most Protestants, the common school was a potent patriotic symbol. It represented the genius of American civilization and its Protestant foundations.[53] Thus any Catholic criticism of the public schools or efforts to obtain public funds for sectarian schools were condemned forthrightly.

The degree to which Roman Catholic requests for a division of the state school fund were perceived as a menace to the public schools was evident in the editorial reaction to such proposals. Following the pattern of nationwide Catholic agitation for public monies for denominational schools in the late 1860's and early 1870's and again in the late 1880's and early 1890's, the Kansas press denounced the policy believing it would surely destroy the uniquely American public school system. Editorial reaction in the late 1860's and early 1870's probably stemmed more from Protestant-Catholic conflict occurring in other parts of the country, notably Boston and Cincinnati, than the limited discussion of the issue in Kansas. Pointing to the bitter debates on the subject in other areas of the nation, L. B. Kellogg, editor of the *Kansas Educational Journal*, called the division of the state school fund among the sects "essentially vicious." "What is allowed Catholics cannot be logically withheld from Methodists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Quakers, and Spiritualists," he wrote in an editorial which reflected the typical nineteenth century belief in the common school with its Protestant ethos as an instrument for promoting national unity. "Once admit the principle, and the whole fabric of the public common schools falls to the ground, a prey to sectarian fanaticism...the whole scheme is absurd and unjust...."[54] Sol Miller, editor of the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, also decried proposals to parcel out the state school fund to religious organizations. Claiming that the Catholic church had the "Deadliest hatred of the free public school system," he cautioned his

readers that in the near future Kansans would need to battle the Roman Catholic Church in order to prevent the dissolution of the common school system.[55] Echoing Miller, J. W. Roberts of the *Independent* warned his readers that by demanding public funds for parochial educational institutions Catholics sought the "destruction of our free common schools, and the substitution of another system, a century or two behind the times...."[56] D. W. Wilder, editor of the *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, agreed. He claimed that the policy advocated by the Catholic church would "break up the public school system" and result in the establishment of "as many school houses as there are religious beliefs."[57] Like many of the other editors with nativistic tendencies, Jacob Stotler of the *Emporia News* charged that pleas for public monies for parochial schools were part of a plot by the "Romish Church" to destroy the common school system and perpetuate "peculiar religious views."[58]

As nationwide Catholic agitation for publicly supported denominational schools subsided so did the Kansas editorial commentary on such proposals. Such was the case from the mid-1870's until the mid-1880's when the Catholic hierarchy followed a less militant policy than it had in the early 1870's and the conflicts between Catholic and non-Catholic groups over public education declined. However, in the late 1880's some Catholic leaders and educators renewed pleas for state aid.[59] Again the Kansas press attacked Catholic efforts to obtain public monies for parochial schools and cautioned that the implementation of such a policy would ruin the common school system, a potent patriotic symbol to many Protestant Americans. Though more attuned to the agitation of Kansas Catholics than had previously been the case, the Kansas press still seemed to respond more to the actions of Catholics elsewhere. Debates over the use of school funds in other states usually led Kansas editors to warn their readers of the Catholic threat to the public schools.[60]

A nationwide trend toward xenophobia which contributed to the growth of anti-Catholic sentiment was often reflected in these warnings. For example, S. E. Pendleton, editor of the *Kansas Methodist Chautauqua* told his readers that foreign priests were endangering the American school system. He argued passionately that "the hierarchy of Rome hates the public school system of the United States, and with tireless persistency, secrecy, and jesuitical cunning seeks to undermine the system."[61] ....., Echoing Pendleton, Ralph M. Easley, editor of the *Hutchinson News*, charged that foreign clerics were seeking the "destruction of the equality of our free, democratic schools...."[62] The editor of the *Meridan Tribune* agreed with Easley's assessment and prescribed a remedy. "The people [Catholic priests] who are trying to tear down our public school system and substitute a system of sectarian schools are enemies to liberty, and to good government and common sense," he maintained in an editorial which reflected the nineteenth century tendency to view Roman Catholicism as incompatible with the American system. "They ought to be banished to the center of

Africa."[63] An editorial by William M. Starr of the *Western Methodist* also mirrored the conviction of many Protestant Americans that the Catholic church was a foreign, and therefore pernicious, influence on American institutions. "In the great contest that is now on between the Roman Catholic Church and the public school system of our country," he declared in an editorial condemning the concept of dividing the school fund among different religious groups, "it behooves all true Americans, especially Protestant people, to guard our public schools against the encroachments of the Catholics, and the menaces of foreigners towards American institutions through the channel of that church."[64]

The warnings of Starr and others did not indicate a serious Catholic threat to the Kansas schools. As had always been the case throughout the nineteenth century, Kansans of a Protestant persuasion reacted more to conflicts concerning religion and education in other parts of the country where Roman Catholics were numerous than to the opinions of Kansas Catholics. Like their beleaguered counterparts in urban areas, Kansas Protestants believed sincerely that Protestantism and the American way of life were inseparable and that the common school imbued with a Protestant-like ethos, as symbolized by Bible reading, was essential to the maintenance of a Christian civilization in America. Consequently, they were ready to defend the schools, Protestantism, and the American way against any perceived foreign influence in Kansas as well as elsewhere.

Though Protestant-Catholic debates concerning religion and education died out in the mid-1890's in Kansas, there was little change in the status quo. The Bible was still read in the vast majority of Kansas schools.[65] The granting of public monies to parochial schools remained illegal, and many Kansans still believed that the Roman Catholic Church and its parish schools were incompatible with American civilization with its Protestant foundation. Catholics, on the other hand, held to the conviction that no education was complete unless it was permeated with the doctrines of the Church. Therefore they remained opposed to the public school system and maintained their own parochial schools.

Although the decline of evangelical Protestantism and the secularization of American life and public education in the twentieth century reduced Protestant-Catholic conflicts relative to religion and education, a problem which was highlighted by public discourse in Kansas remained unsolved. Neil G. McCluskey described the problem as the "limitations inherent in the idea of one common school serving a religiously pluralistic society."[66] In the nineteenth century most Protestants gathered on the common ground of biblical authority and biblical values in an attempt to fashion a Protestant-like culture. The common schools reflected the common culture which was distinctively evangelical Protestant. Yet Catholics could not accept this consensus as it was reflected in the public schools and therefore opted for parochial

schools. As America became more secular and pluralistic in the twentieth century and evangelical Protestant Christianity ceased to be the moving force behind cultural and behavioral patterns, the schools became almost totally secular. The suggestions of those few secular-minded Kansans of the nineteenth century are now facts of educational life. In order to avoid religious conflict in the public schools, religion has been divorced from public education just as it has from its former intimate relationship to the social order.

Yet there are Catholics and Protestants who still believe in a religious or biblical basis for education. Like the Catholics and small number of non-believers who confronted the dominant Protestant cultural and educational patterns of the nineteenth century, they face a predominately secular culture and public schools which are equally distasteful. The problem inherent in the concept of a common school in an increasingly pluralistic and creedless society remains unsolved and is not infinitely more magnified and complex. It will remain so until the social order once again adopts a common religious faith or arrives at a moral consensus.

NOTES

[1] Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[3] Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (New York: The Dial Press, 1970), p. 67.

[4] William Gerald McLoughlin, ed., *The American Evangelicals 1800-1900* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 1-26; Timothy L. Smith, "Protestant Schooling and American Nationality, 1800-1850," *Journal of American History*, LIII (March, 1967), 680.

[5] Edwin Scott Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 372; Mark Sullivan, Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925, Vol. II: *America Finding Herself* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1927), pp. 7-93; David Tyack, "The Kingdom of God and the Common School," *Harvard Education Review*, XXXVI (Fall, 1966), 448-69.

[6] Handy, *A Christian America* p. 102.

[7] The Protestant majority included not only church members but also those who were Protestant in their beliefs and inclinations. Marty, *Righteous Empire*, pp. 14-23.

[8] Carl F. Kaestle, *The Evolution of an Urban School System: New York City, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 145-58; Vincent P. Lannie and Bernard C. Diethorn, "For the Honor and Glory of God: The Philadelphia Bible Riots of 1840," *History of Education Quarterly*, VIII (Spring, 1968), pp. 44-106; Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), pp. 3-76; Stanley K. Schultz, *The Culture Faculty: Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 302-09; *David B. Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 84-86, *et passim.*

[9] R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence R. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 363.

[10] Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), *passim.*

[11] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 28.

[12] Handy, *A Christian America*, pp. 103-04.

[13] *Freedom's Champion* (Atchison), December 31, 1863.

[14] *Kansas Educational Journal* (Leavenworth), June, 1864.

[15] *Atchison Champion*, November 8, 1973.

[16] *Kansas Farmer* (Topeka), March 8, 1976.

[17] Robert Michaelsen, *Piety in the Public School* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), pp. 67-85, 118.

[18] Gaustad, *A Religious History of America*, pp. 372-73; Marty, *Righteous Empire*, p. 159-60.

[19] *Kansas Educational Journal* (Emporia), May, 1868.

[20] *Chetopa Advance*, November 17, 1869.

[21] Higham, *Strangers in the Land* pp. 28-29, 59-60; Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture* (New York: Free Press, 1970), pp. 77-80, 112-17, 158-72; Robert Michaelsen, "Common School, Common Religion? A Case Study in Church-State Relations, Cincinnati, 1869-70," *Church History*, XXXVIII (June, 1969), 201-17.

[22] *Champion and Press* (Atchison), January 8, 1870.

[23] *Western School Journal* (Topeka), January, 1887.

[24] *Ibid.*, January, 1890.

[25] *Ibid.*

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[26] *Kansas Catholic* (Kansas City), December 19, 1895.

[27] *Wyandotte Gazette*, June 1, 1867.

[28] *Kansas Tribune* (Lawrence), June 16, 1870.

[29] *Chronicle* (Kansas City), December 24, 1891.

[30] *Chetopa Advance*, March 10, 1869.

[31] *Kansas Educational Journal* (Topeka), September 1871.

[32] *Fort Scott Monitor*, January 6, 1887.

[33] *Leavenworth Times*, May 1, 1873.

[34] *Manhattan Enterprise*, January 30, 1878.

[35] *Topeka Capital*, September 10, 1879.

[36] *Wichita Eagle*, December 16, 1875.

[37] *Leavenworth Times*, December 30, 1875.

[38] *Leavenworth Commerical*, January 5, 1876. Other statements of this nature can be found in *Nationalist* (Manhattan), January 11, 1878; *Western Home Journal* (Lawrence), December 11, 1879.

[39] M. Evangeline Thomas, "The Catholic Church in Kansas," *Kansas: The First Century*, ed. John D. Bright (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1956), II, 343.

[40] For Hughes position see Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, pp. 142-58.

[41] *Wyandotte Gazette*, April 6, 1867. See also *ibid.*, May 18, 1867; July 20, 1867.

[42] *Topeka Blade*, August 9, 1873.

[43] *Leavenworth Times*, December 6, 1877.

[44] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 59-60.

[45] Thomas T. McAvoy, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), p. 293.

[46] Thomas estimates that there were twenty parochial schools in 1877 and sixty-two in 1897. Thomas, "The Catholic Church in Kansas," 343.

[47] *Visitor* (Leavenworth), February 1, 1884. *Ibid.*, March 26, 1885; *Kansas Catholic* (Kansas City), September 12, 1895.

[48] *Visitor* (Leavenworth), July 24, 1884.

[49] *Kansas Catholic* (Leavenworth), November 12, 1885. See also *Ibid.*, September 2, 1886.

[50] *Ibid.*, February 6, 1890.

[51] *Ibid.*, January 4, 1889.

[52] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1892.

[53] Handy, *A Christian America*, 101-04; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 59-60; Michaelsen, *Piety in the Public Schools*, p. 119.

[54] *Kansas Educational Journal* (Emporia), April, 1869.

[55] *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, August 19, 1869.

[56] *Independent* (Oskaloosa), November 27, 1869.

[57] *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, December 18, 1869.

[58] *Emporia News*, April 22, 1870.

[59] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 59.

[60] Protestant-Catholic conflicts over public education were numerous during the late 1880's and early 1890's in states such as Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

[61] *Kansas Methodist Chautauqua* (Topeka), January 24, 1888.

[62] *Hutchison News*, February 27, 1890.

[63] *Meriden Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

[64] *Western Methodist* (Wichita), October 27, 1892.

[65] In 1904 the Kansas Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the practice of Bible reading without comment. *Topeka State Journal*, April 9, 1904.

[66] Neil G. McCluskey, ed., *Catholic Education in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1964), p. 18.

EDUCATING "WATCH CITY:" THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS, 1840-1880*

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Recent scholarship on the nineteenth century origins of American public education has demonstrated the triple impact of urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. As rural areas and small villages composed of old stock Protestants were transformed into polyglot industrial cities, the form and function of public education changed. According to Michael Katz, by 1880 these new public schools displayed characteristics--universality, tax-support, compulsion, bureaucracy, racism, class-bias---which they would continue to display well into the twentieth century. Educational historians have been quick to exploit this explanatory paradigm. Studies of educational change in Boston, St. Louis, and New York have shown the paradigm's utility.[1] As valuable as these studies are they have dealt with cities which, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were far removed from the rural village society which distinguished most of the United States. Additional insight into educational change might well be gained in studies of how smaller communities reoriented education in the light of social change.

Waltham, Massachusetts was one such community. In 1810 Waltham was a village of one hundred eighty farm families and merchants who served their needs, located ten miles west of Boston. The establishment of a textile mill on the Charles River in 1810 and the coming of the larger mill of the Boston Manufacturing Company in 1814 initiated Waltham's transformation. By midcentury the town's population had risen to 4464, one-quarter of whom were recent Irish Catholic immigrants, many of whom worked in the mills. Waltham Watch Company appeared in 1854 and became a significant factor in the local economy when the Civil War led to a demand for cheap timepieces. The watch company preferred native-born and Protestant employees who, by the nature of the work were more highly skilled than the textile workers. By 1880 about 1300 men worked at Waltham Watch while only one hundred and nine farmers remained in Waltham. In that year the population reached 11,712, nearly half of whom were Irish Catholics.[2]

Educational change in Waltham paralleled the changes in the community. In the years between 1840 and 1880 Waltham's schools moved from the district or one room schoolhouse model characteristic or pre-urban America to the graded, articulated, bureaucratic system of public education characteristic of urban, industrial America. In this

change schools became strongholds of traditional values, and the upper levels of education, which remained Yankee dominated, won extraordinary financial and psychological community support. The change took place in two phases: between 1840 and 1860 the school committee attempted to restructure the traditional system to serve the expanding enrollment; between 1860 and 1880 the committee grew less tolerant, criticized the immigrant students, favored the Yankee-attended grammar and high schools, and adopted the bureaucratic model of school government. By 1880 Waltham's schools had been redesigned to serve a polyglot, industrial city. The story of Waltham's educational change is significant because Waltham began the change earlier than most sections of the country and began it from a typical village setting. The substance and style of educational change reflected not only the idealistic rhetoric behind public education but also the grudging acceptance of the city, the factory, and the immigrant as permanent features of Waltham.

Waltham's educational history for the one hundred years after the establishment of the town in 1738 was similar to that of other New England villages. Until 1756 the town meeting arranged for a "moving school" so that children in all parts of the community might attend for several months. Between 1756 and 1815 four schoolhouses were built: one in the village center on the Great Road which led west from Boston, and three in the northern part of town where farmers congregated because of the soil's quality. These schools opened for three to five months each year, generally employed male teachers, and offered a rudimentary curriculum. Higher learning took place through private arrangements. In the town's first seventy-five years only twenty-two young men pursued a college education, nineteen at nearby Harvard, three at the College of New Jersey (Princeton).[3]

The establishment of Boston Manufacturing's mill in 1814 had little impact on this traditional educational system. Many of the mill employees were farm girls who worked for several years to earn a dowry, contribute to the family income, or support a brother's college studies. These predecessors of the "Lowell girls" were too old to utilize Waltham's district schools and generally returned home to marry and begin a family. For its employees who did have school age children and for children employed in the mill, Boston Manfuacturing constructed, staffed, and equipped a brick school-house near its "bleachery" or bleaching facility. In 1820 the company built a second school. Its officers later contributed $500 to the town library and landscaped the factory precincts. If by these efforts the company hoped to lessen its educational, social, and aesthetic impact on Waltham and to win local supporters, it was successful. Samuel Ripley, pastor of Waltham's First Church, wrote a glowing account of the mill describing it as "free from disorder and immorality . . . There is as much peace, order, and propriety of behavior among these persons as with any other portion of the inhabitants . . . a school is taught six months by a woman, and in the evenings by masters in the winter."[4] Thus, the early impact of industrialism on both the schools and the community of Waltham was

muted. Most of the mill employees were people whose ethnic, religious, and social background was similar to that of native Walthamites. The mill owners were willing to spend money to appear to be contributing to the stability, culture, and beauty of the town.

Mill owners, however, were unable to control the increase in population which followed their success and which spurred the beginning of Waltham's educational change. The number of district schools rose from four in 1815 to ten in 1853 and the new schools served areas of the town affected by factory expansion. Several divided into subprimary and primary sections because of class size and overcrowding. Population increase also affected provision for advanced education. Before 1826 Massachusetts law provided that only towns with 5000 residents need provide secondary education, but in 1826 the legislature reduced the requisite number to 500 families. Waltham reached this figure in the early 1830s, and, in 1832 the town constructed a combination grammar and high school. This school was located near the village center and distant from the homes of most of the factory employees.[5]

When Waltham's school committee began to issue annual printed reports in 1842 the problems of adapting an essentially village school system to the needs of an industrializing city were clear. School government needed clearer procedures and more sharply defined powers. Attendance had to be regularized. Permanent teachers, a common curriculum, a standard school year and day were desirable. Levels of schooling needed definition and articulation. Orderly classrooms and neat schoolyards indicated a properly run school system. The evils which resulted from Waltham's change must be mitigated by the public schools and between 1840 and 1880 these issues were at the center of school committee attention.

The issue of school government surfaced early. Massachusetts law provided for a highly personal and local school government. Each town had a school committee elected at the annual town meeting which hired teachers, arranged the district boundaries, settled the curriculum, and saw that state school laws were implemented. But the committee's power was limited. Final approval of the school budget remained in the hands of the town meeting when the committee report was read, approved, and ordered printed, and the necessary school funds voted. Another locus of power was the prudential committee in each district. Mandated by state law, the prudential committee was a district resident who supervised the local school. He was responsible for school maintenance, classroom equipment, and the school grounds. More importantly, he hired teachers subject to the approval of the school committee. The nepotistic possibilities of this position were often the greatest inducement for seeking it.[6]

Such a diffused and personal system of school government worked well in Waltham's early years, but by the 1840s stress was evident.

School committees complained that prudential committees sought too much authority or acted without consulting the general school committee. In the factory neighborhood, Waltham's immigrant residents were not concerned about school government, failed to elect a prudential committee, and forced a member of the school committee to assume the additional duties.[7] The personal nature of the school committee reports led to conflict in 1843. Some Walthamites objected to a personal evaluation of each teacher being published in the school report. Since it was at about this time that women began to teach in Waltham, this objection might have been an effort to protect from public criticism two teachers whose performance the committee had judged incompetent. This issue became entangled with a battle over corporal punishment in the high school and resulted in a special investigating committee and the resignation of a majority of the school committee.[8]

As Waltham's population diversified, the harmony among the committee, parents, and teachers necessary for effective education broke down. Personal relationships between town officials and citizens gave way to formal interaction. The school committee regularly attacked parents on a variety of issues. The most frequent battle was over poor school attendance, for which, in 1842, the committee stressed that "parents are alone to blame." In 1848 in Waltham schools the "vast majority are more or less frequently absent." Only parental diligence would solve this problem.[9] Parents who sent their children to class but kept them at home at the quarterly examinations were "encouraging a wicked and radical spirit" among their children.[10] In 1843 the committee urged the town to adopt a bylaw which fined truants or their parents twenty dollars or sentenced them to six months in the public almshouse.[11] The committee urged Walthamites to remonstrate with truants they encountered in everyday business and encourage them in "punctual attendance and cheerful obedience to the rules at school."[12] Even spying on the attendance of a neighbor's child was recommended as a method of improving school attendance.[13] In 1854 the committee linked the attendance problem to the problem of drunken parents, a possible code term for some of the Irish who now composed about a third of the population.[14] As these new and strange people settled in Waltham, the school committee grew increasingly unwilling to allow parents to interfere with school problems. It regularly defended teachers from parental criticism especially in the area of discipline:[15]

> Where any deficiency exists in correctness of conduct . . . the deficiency and the wrong are to be ascribed not to the teacher . . . but to the parents and guardians . . . to the want of domestic culture and discipline.

The 1843 parent-committee battle over the corporal punishment practices of high school principal, Daniel French, ended with a committee victory.[16] The school committee summarized its attitude toward parental involvement in school affairs in 1842:[17]

> Parents have no control over children while at school; they have no right to interfere at all in the management of the school--to dictate or advise in any way . . .

The drive to regularize attendance and to reduce parental influence was part of a larger school committee effort to organize and order what they perceived as a chaotic school situation.

Between 1840 and 1860 the committee firmly believed that one key to quality and orderly education was a low rate of teacher turnover. Teacher instability was common among the ten to twenty teachers, mostly female, who composed the Waltham faculty: in some years half the teachers were newcomers. The committee repeatedly correlated teacher instability with poor learning and classroom disorder. There was " . . . hardly a greater evil incident to schools than the frequent change of instructors."[18] When a new teacher entered a school the committee observed that the "usual bad effects of change" had been manifest.[19] District schools were continually subject to "the temporary confusion always consequent to some extent on a change in teaching."[20] Waltham's changing faculty reflected more the character of the preprofessional teacher attacked by common school reformers than of the trained teachers of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until the 1850s Waltham relied heavily on local women, many of them graduates of Waltham High School.[21] College men who took a year off to earn tuition money by teaching won positions in Waltham.[22] Local residence and good character were important in acquiring a teaching job. "No qualification of a teacher is more important . . . than a high moral tone."[23] Professionalism made few inroads before the 1860s: in 1845 teachers met occasionally for pedagogical discussions,[24] and the same year the school committee hired a woman who had attended the State Normal School at Bridgewater, and reported, somewhat surprisedly, that she appeared to be doing a good job.[25] But the major problem with teachers was retention. There was no evidence that teachers left their work because they were dissatisfied with salary. In the 1840s and 1850s Waltham supported its schools well, ranking as high as fourteenth in per-pupil expenditure among Massachusetts towns. Between 1860 and 1880 when the school committee launched an economy drive, teachers left Waltham for a better salary in neighboring towns.[26] Teacher tenure was brief because teaching was a temporary occupation suitable for young men or women while preparing for or deciding on a permanent career. Waltham's school committee was forced to accept this fact of educational life but warned citizens of its disruptive effects.

Another aspect of the search for order was the effort to redesign the school year. The traditional winter and summer sessions were no longer adequate for a community the majority of whose residents made their living in industry or commerce. In 1846 the committee recommended the adoption of a new calendar in all schools except district two, Pond End, and district three, Trapelo.[27] These districts served the agricultural northern part of the town and adhered to the traditional

school year. When the first printed school Rules and Regulations appeared in 1850, there was a four term school year with summer and inter-term vacations. There was also a six hour school day, a specified length for recess, and official school holidays.[28] With the exception of the two rural schools, by 1850 Waltham schools operated in accord with the rhythms of an urban calendar and clock.

Overcrowding was a disorderly feature of many schools, a problem exacerbated by the informal nature of district boundaries. The school committee attempted to put the situation in order. In 1850 it ordered parents to send their children to their district school and to no other.[29] Four years later the town meeting gave the committee the power to manipulate boundaries to equalize enrollment.[30]

Articulation of the levels of Waltham education became an important issue between 1840 and 1860. The larger district schools had been informally divided into sub-primary and primary levels. There was also a combination grammar school and high school whose enrollment was rising. But there were no regular procedures detailing what age and/or academic progress permitted a child to move to the next level. Again, the school committee intervened. In the early 1840s the committee ruled that admission to the high school was by virtue of academic attainment rather than by age alone. Prior to this time all students over ten were eligible for high school admission.[31] The committee set themselves up as judges of high school admission when they ordered in 1845 that all students be orally examined by the committee before entering the high school.[32] By 1850 the school rules stated that students were not to be admitted to the high school unless they passed oral examinations in reading, spelling, mathematics, and geography; furthermore, no one under twelve could enroll.[33] Shortly afterwards, the committee noted the need to raise grammar school admission standards because many parents eagerly pushed their children out of primary and into grammar school.[34] The full articulation of the Waltham schools was realized in 1855 when the second edition of school rules appeared. There were four levels of school: sub-primary, primary, grammar and high. Each level had a prescribed curriculum and textbooks. Children moved from the sub-primary to the primary room in the district schools "as may best promote the convenience of the teacher." To enter grammar or high school the student needed both a teacher's certificate and an oral examination by the school committee.[35] Although a child's educational progress was now orderly and predictable, schools were neither graded nor, in general, defined by age. These developments would occur after 1860.

In attempting to adapt their schools to serve an industrial city, the men who served on Waltham's school committee stressed the value of orderly classrooms and well-maintained school facilities. The committee's observations about each school dealt with discipline first and learning second.[36] Teacher evaluations emphasized effective discipline. Although the committee believed that corporal punishment

was the ultimate weapon in the teacher's arsenal and should be used only as a last resort, its necessity was reiterated in every early edition of the school rules.[37] Corporal punishment was the result of shoddy child rearing practices: If children came to school with sound home training it would soon vanish.[38] Good discipline won committee respect not only because of its contribution to order but also because of its impact on student morals. If the 1857 committee criticized the students at School Street School because they were "difficult to manage," it praised the Bleachery School for the "good morals and good manners of the children . . . worth more than any scholarship."[39] The concern with order extended to the school grounds. Prudential committees made vigilant efforts to clean up school grounds because a tidy school was "a powerful aid to the teacher in her efforts to teach good morals and manners."[40]

The concern for order which characterized Waltham school leaders stemmed from the dramatic changes in population and lifestyle which Waltham underwent. Although school committees rarely commented on town change, bits of evidence suggest that they believed change created disorder which adversely affected education. The chairman of the 1850 school committee, Reverend Thomas Hill, penned a long attack on the evils of city life even for native-born children and concluded that the only solution to these problems was regular school attendance.[41] Reverend Samuel Ripley believed that the two remaining rural schools "should take higher rank" because they are "composed of children of the same rank and class in society--they are remote from the noise and temptations of the village."[42] Students at schools in the "central districts" were exposed to town vices such as swearing and gambling, and the school committee cautioned town dwellers to watch their language while children went to and from school.[43]

The school committee's uneasiness with town change and its concern with ordering education is understandable when one examines its membership. A school committee of from four to seven was elected at the town meeting. Reelection was common so that between 1842 and 1860 less than forty men served. Although less than a quarter of them had been born in Waltham, half had moved there by the time of their marriage. They represented the professional class of the town, especially the traditional professions of theology, law, and medicine. Twelve school committee members were ministers in one of Waltham's Protestant churches. A minister was nearly certain to find himself serving on the committee within two years of assuming a Waltham pulpit and a minister commonly became chairman. Ministerial domination of the committee was the result of several factors. Traditionally Massachusetts expected and encouraged considerable clerical involvement in school matters. Until the dissolution of the church-state relationship in 1833, state law required that all teachers be approved by the local minister. Buttressing tradition was the belief that the school's primary duty was in the field of moral education. More practically, school committee work required a great deal of time: each school was visited annually and its teacher and pupils examined, and students applying to the grammar or high school needed to be

examined, preferably by people who had received some higher education themselves. Only educated men with some free time could be considered for a school committee post. Tradition and necessity dictated, therefore, that until 1860 a meeting of the school committee often resembled a meeting of the local clergy. The only clerical exception was the pastor of the Catholic church, St. Mary's. Other occupations represented on the committee included a doctor, two lawyers, a custom house clerk, a "roller coverer," and two farmers. The farmers served in the early 1840s and were the last for thirty five years.

Who was not elected to the school committee before 1860? No Irish Catholics appeared before the late 1870s. Non-clerical newcomers were not often found on the committee. With the exception of Chauncey Newhall, the "roller coverer", there were no representatives of either the managerial or laboring classes from the town's industries. Massachusetts law prohibited the election of women. The composition of the committee indicated the desire of Walthamites to keep their schools in the control of men who represented traditional values. These were the men who reordered the town schools during the 1840s and 1850s.[44] Although these men did not heartily embrace the new Waltham, neither were their minds closed to the necessity for change.

The dominant figure on the committee from 1845 to 1860 was Thomas Hill, pastor of the First Church (Unitarian). Hill was an activist in the Massachusetts common school revival, a close associate of Horace Mann, and Mann's successor as president of Antioch College, and in the 1860s was president of Harvard.[45] The style and tone of the school committee reports during his Waltham tenure reflected his influence. Many reports concluded with rhetorical flourishes common to public school enthusiasts throughout the country. Hill's influence resulted in a generally high level of school support. He was clearly a mediator between the values of Yankee Waltham and the necessity for change. In 1880 the school committee recognized Hill's importance by naming a school after him, the first time a Waltham school was given the name of a person.[46]

In the years between 1870 and 1880 the adaptation of the schools to the new Waltham was completed. Several developments were significant in this process. First, as native Walthamites became convinced that the newcomers were a permanent fixture, anti-immigrant animosity was subtly revealed in school matters. The school committee regularly disparaged the deportment of children in heavily immigrant schools and devoted ever-increasing attention, finances, and praise to the grammar and high schools. These overwhelmingly Yankee schools became the darlings of Waltham education and consumed a percentage of the budget out of all proportion to their enrollment. Finally, the willingness of residents to finance public schools experienced a sharp reversal in the 1870s. The school committee led a campaign to reduce expenses at a time when schools underwent rapid growth. In 1880 when the committee turned over much of its power to the first superintendent, John T. Prince, the adaptation of the Waltham schools ended.

These changes in the schools took place against the background of continuing town development. Waltham had a high rate of physical mobility: between 1850 and 1880 at least half the population outmigrated in each decade. Catholics accounted for forty-four percent of Waltham in 1880. They had a higher birth rate than Protestants and provided more children for the public schools even though wealthier Protestants paid more school taxes. This dichotomy was the basis for the economy drive of the 1870s. By 1870, therefore, a middle aged native of Waltham could have been certain that there was no chance of reversing the transformation of his town. According to Howard Gitelman, Yankee-Irish animosity reached a peak in the 1870s and then subsided as the more successful and Yankee-like Irish began to achieve local prominence and power.[47]

Between 1860 and 1880 the Yankee-dominated school committee persistently criticized the pupils of primary schools in immigrant neighborhoods. For example in 1860 the residents of the fifth school district were "a difficult class of people to govern" and the school was "the most laborious to teach" of the ten primary schools. "During the winter many large boys from the factories enter this school who often manifest such a spirit of insubordination as tends to greatly weaken the teachers authority . . ." The committee believed that "many who attend our public schools have little moral instruction at home . . ."[48] In subsequent years the fifth district had "an element of disorder" and was a school "where [a teacher] must encounter many discouragements and, perhaps, vexations."[49] In 1865 the committee declared that "causes which seem beyond the reach of the teacher and the committee, existing partly perhaps, in the occupations of the parents, make the attendance at this school quite irregular."[50] The committee finally admitted that in the fifth district "there are peculiar causes operating . . . which retard improvement . . .", hence it was unwise to compare this school with any other primary school; it was sui generis.[51] The school quieted for eight years, but in 1874 vandalism forced the committee into the anachronistic practice of employing a male teacher. The committee smugly reported that "since the appointment of Mr. Fogg we have had no trouble whatsoever. There is not a school in town which is more orderly."[52] The problem had arisen because in the fifth district there were "a few bad boys who are not controlled at home" and who "will often demoralize a school." The fault rested with the parents who were "so engaged in earning their livelihood that they do not look after their children as much as they should."[53] The difficulties with this school showed a distinct anti-immigrant bias even though that bias was never openly stated.

The greatest change in primary education was the increase of graded schools, more the result of increasing enrollment than of educational theory. In 1860 the committee observed that "our increasing population will soon render a division necessary . . ." in the primary schools.[54] Schoolhouse architecture altered in light of the new system. Apart from improved pedagogy, graded schools were "the most

economical use of time spent in school.[55] Although graded schools appeared out of necessity, experience taught the committee and the first superintendent that grading was a two-edged sword. Although graded classrooms worked for some, they worked to the disadvantage of other students. The traditional mixed classroom had assisted the student who left school for an extended period to work, tend siblings, or recover from serious illness. Upon returning the student could easily readjust. In the graded system, however, the returning student found himself out of step with the class and a disruptive element. In 1878 the committee urged a rethinking of the graded classroom and the resultant standardization of the course of study because of their effects on the sickly or employed student. The committee warned, however, that it had no sympathy for the "indolent indifferent" student who might profit from this.[56] Superintendent Prince also believed in grading reform. In his inaugural report he criticized Waltham's four-level system of graded schools as so bad that "were it possible," the town should return to mixed schools. Prince argued that since many children worked occasionally in the factories, it was absurd to organize the schools on annual graded promotions. He urged semi-annual promotions as a compromise.[57] Ironically, the grading and articulation of Waltham schools introduced to fit schools to an industrial economy, proved ill-adapted to that economy, indeed to any economy where child labor was common.

Apart from problem immigrant children and the evil effects of grading, the school committee expressed general satisfaction with primary education, curricular conservatism reigned and innovation was rejected. In the 1870s the committee revised the course of studies to be "more practical than they have been, to teach the children what will be of real use in the business of life."[58] Practicality became the theoretical basis of the curriculum in the 1877 edition of the school Rules when teachers were ordered to show pupils that subject matter was "applicable to the common affairs of life."[59] The kindergarten did not win acceptance. In 1864 Miss Nellie Bickford introduced "kindergarten ideas" to her class at district four. Later that year a group of teachers and committee members visited a kindergarten in West Newton, but the visit did not inspire action. The committee believed that Waltham teachers already used many kindergarten techniques and that "the construction of the schoolhouses" made a kindergarten a difficult undertaking.[60] Five years later when citizens again urged creation of kindergartens, the committee reiterated that Waltham primary schools with their absence of physical restraint and monotony offered kindergarten advantages at no expense.[61] Singing was a popular part of the primary curriculum. It relieved the tedium of abstract studies, improved the students' disposition, and added to community enjoyment at public festivals.[62] People who contended that the money spent on music was frivolous were incorrect; the "refining" power of music made the funds expended for it "an exceedingly beneficial appropriation."[64] Needlework was added to the traditional primary curriculum but only at the teacher's discretion.[64] Between 1860 and 1880 the primary schools continued on the course charted for them in

earlier decades. Apart from the grading of the schools there was little change. Although the committee was displeased with some primary pupils it initiated few attempts at reform. One reason was that the committee's attention focused on the grammar and high schools.

Until 1869 Waltham had a single grammar school housed in the same building as the high school, north of the Charles River, and about one block from the center of town. In 1869 a South Grammar School was built. In the twenty years after 1860 grammar school enrollment increased from 112 to 337 students, and from ten percent of the total enrollment to twenty percent. Although the sex differential varied from year to year, boys outnumbered girls three to two.[65]

The eleven to fourteen-year-olds who attended the grammar school took a course of study "chiefly practical." "We look upon this school . . . as being that in which a large portion of our children are to receive the education which is to prepare them for the duties of life."[66] For most the grammar school was the end of formal education. Yet the committee also insisted that the grammar school be the gateway to the high school. Thus, Waltham's grammar schools were torn between training terminal students and preparing students for additional education. The compromise was a cirriculum little more than an extension of the primary curriculum. Grammar school students received doses of the basic subjects as well as history, geography, and music. The only subject with special appeal to the terminal student was drawing, which appeared in the grammar school curriculum long before Massachusetts' 1870 law required it.[67] In 1863 the committee praised drawing's effect on student neatness, but by 1872 linked drawing to both practicality and an anti-immigrant view:[68]

> Many mechanical occupations requiring [drawing] are now almost entirely filled by foreigners, our native-born citizens not possessing the requisite qualification or disliking the necessary labor, or from some other cause . . .

Walter Smith, the state director of drawing, lectured in Waltham in 1874 and echoed the committee view: drawing was "eminently practical;" it stifled complaints that schools taught only useless knowledge; and it gave Americans a chance to break foreign monopoly on certain jobs.[69] Since many grammar school students were Yankee males, drawing was a potentially valuable subject. Despite drawing's introduction the grammar school remained primarily a preparation for high school.

Since the age of grammar school pupils intersected with the maximum age of compulsory school attendance, the grammar school suffered the bulk of the dropout and truancy problems. In 1870 the committee bemoaned the number of dropouts who needed to contribute to "family support",[70] and two years later pleaded with parents who removed children in order to work to "let the scholar

attend . . . if possible till he graduates at the grammar school. If the parent cannot afford to send the child till he graduates at the grammar school, let his attendance be continuous and unbroken as long as possible."[71] The committee continued to blame truancy on parents. In the 1870s truant officers patrolled Waltham and vigorously enforced the attendance law. "The agents of our manufacturing establishments have heartily cooperated" in policing school attendance. Truancy was a double evil: first, it was foolish since "education is the only way for children to rise out of poverty;" second, it was costly to employ truant officers as well as to support incorrigible truants at the state institution in Lowell.[72] The effect of truancy and dropping out was visible in grammar school attendance figures. In the 1860s only one quarter of the children completed grammar school; in the 1870s this figure rose to one half.[73] Paradoxically, the high drop out rate was beneficial in that the single grammar school was badly overcrowded in the 1860s and the opening of the second grammar school provided only temporary relief.

The school committee generally had a positive feeling about the grammar schools and urged their expansion. In 1865 the committee reported that "the school is always up to its standard of excellence."[74] Rhetorically at least, the committee sought to extend grammar school education to all children. "Our grammar schools are very expensive and every portion of our inhabitants ought to enjoy the full benefit to be derived from them."[75] The campaign against truancy and dropouts was one part of this effort. But the Yankee-dominated committee showed considerably more concern for the Yankee farm children in the two rural schools in north Waltham than for the immigrant and Catholic children in the town center. In 1874 the committee ordered the grammar age northern children to attend North Grammar School. When parents objected because of the walking distance and suggested that Waltham imitate Newton and hire a "conveyance" to transport children, the committee, while regretting that citizens in the "remote parts of town" did not have access to grammar schools, ruled that such an innovation was beyond its power. Parental wishes triumphed eventually when the northern one-room schools expanded to accommodate a grammar room.[76] On the immigrant south side of town, the construction of a grammar school waited for a large infusion of Protestant watch workers in the 1860s.[77]

Why was the school committee so anxious to expand the grammar schools? And why did it fund them disproportionately to their enrollment? The answer lay in the Yankee-immigrant conflict. Both the school committee and the grammar schools were Yankee institutions. At North Grammar School the percentage of Irish graduates was low even though the school adjoined an Irish neighborhood. The Irish slowly increased their percentage of grammar school graduates from an insignificant number in the 1860s, to ten percent in the early 1870s, to fifteen percent in the late 1870s.[78] The South Grammar School, which served an area where most Waltham immigrants lived, enrolled only half as many students as the north school.[79] In spite of their rhetoric of

grammar school for all, the school committee expanded schools in heavily Yankee neighborhoods.

Between 1860 and 1880 Waltham high school became the central institution of public education. The curriculum was a confused blend of the classical and the commercial. Enrollment varied annually but rose about fifty percent over the period, even though the students came almost totally from Yankee families. The school committee appropriated three to six times as much for each high school student as for each primary student. Graduation exercises and reunions developed into major community festivals. The high school drew praise from the school committee and came to be a symbol both of the expansion of Waltham and of the town's prosperity.

Both the members of the school committee and the alumni agreed that the high school's curriculum should aim at the non-college preparatory student and offer him or her useful knowledge. At the 1857 reunion Josiah Rutter, a former high school principal and a frequent member of the committee, praised the useful education provided by the school in contrast with the irrelevance of college education which produced men ignorant of "common affairs, common duties, common things."[80] In 1863 the committee declared that the course should not be "chiefly classical" but should be "adapted to the wants of a population such as ours. [The students] are to be trained for business, for mechanical and commercial pursuits."[81] Since few Walthamites attended college a practical secondary school was a necessity. Speaking at the dedication of the new high school in 1869, Gideon Hawes called for a "commercial, agricultural, and mechanical" course for the high school.[82]

Despite this rhetorical unanimity Waltham high school persisted in offering a classical course patronized by only a few and an English course with little practicality. The English course was popular with female students, who were the majority. When enrollment in the classical course dropped in the late 1860s, the committee assured local residents that the school still prepared for college even though "few young men enter college upon leaving."[83] When the class of 1876 prepared a book of exercises for display at the Centennial Exposition, they found only six classical students out of 111, and four graduates of the last two classes in college.[84] The revised school Rules of 1877 changed the name of the English course to the General course but the change in name caused no change in content.[85] An 1878 survey of why high school students dropped out revealed that work and health were more important factors than curricular relevance.[86] Many Walthamites remained convinced that the high school was little more than college preparatory. In his first report Superintendent Prince stressed that only one-eighth of the faculty's time was spent on college prep classes in which only six students were enrolled.[87] Prince quickly added a third course, a combination English-Classical.[88] The curricular issue between 1860 and 1880 was not one of defining purpose but of convincing the community that a high school education was useful and important.

Apart from drawing and shorthand, the curriculum contained no subjects immediately useful.

Who entered this high school? and why? First, the students came from Yankee families. Lists of students, graduates, and reunion participants confirmed that few Irish enrolled before the late 1870s. Second, although the boy-girl ratio varied considerably from year to year, girls were more likely to persist until graduation. In 1865 the high school enrolled 27 boys and 60 girls; one year later the enrollment was 57 boys and 32 girls; in 1878 there were 54 boys and 91 girls. Eight of the nine graduates in 1866 were girls; in 1875, 16 out of 22 were girls.[89] Yankee girls, then, made up the greater part of high school students not only because family conditions allowed them to postpone entry to the worlds of work or marriage but also because the high school diploma was an important key to a teaching job.[90]

Although the high school accounted for less than five percent of total enrollment and was unrepresentative of the town, it was a highly praised and visible community institution. In 1861 the school committee declared it "a model high school," and in 1866 school committeeman James C. Parsons stated, "We cannot overrate the importance of this school to our town."[91] The triennial reunion developed into an important event on the Waltham social calendar. The first met in 1857; the 1863 reunion formed a "Waltham High School Association."[92] In 1869 the reunion was combined with class day at the school and the event drew "the youth and beauty" of the town to a program of speeches, music, and a parade.[93] The community character of the graduation ceremony was another indication of the school's increasing visibility. The first ceremony occurred in 1862 in Rumford Hall; the second drew a large crowd and included a concert by the watch factory band.[94] The high school's community significance was related to its Yankee clientele; high school events and Protestant meetings were places where Waltham's older families met in the atmosphere of old Waltham.

The attitudes of the school committee toward the three levels of Waltham education clearly revealed that the committee was dissatisfied with the changes in the makeup of the town's population. There was an indifference to reform of immigrant-dominated primary education coupled with criticism of the conduct of some primary pupils. By word and deed the committee stressed the importance of the Yankee-dominated grammar and high school. Clearest evidence of this was in the movement to economize and in the tempered faith expressed in the unifying power of public education.

Prior to 1876 little evidence suggested public dissatisfaction with school expenses. When the committee refused to take action, the reasons proffered were educational impact or lack of legal power rather than cost. Two factors triggered the new concern with money: the enrollment increase of the early 1870s and a change in the character of

committeemen. Enrollment expanded from 1328 in 1869 to 1617 in 1875 with most of the increase coming in the immigrant primary schools. This twenty percent enrollment increase resulted in a fifty percent increase in the budget. The committee grew frustrated in planning for constantly expanding schools: "It is difficult to suggest a remedy . . . for different parts of the town increase suddenly and rapidly in the number of young and growing families."[95] In addition, school finances staggered under the cost of the new high school which was equivalent to four years of regular budgets. Finally, Waltham lost state aid in 1875 when a revised formula gave more money to smaller towns. The cost per pupil per year doubled.[96] During these years of rising costs ministerial domination of the committee ended: only two ministers served on the committee in the 1870s. Lawyers and doctors continued to be elected but they sat with two watch workers, a grocer, a lithographer, a real estate broker, and a farmer. Irish Catholics acquired representatives for the first time when lawyer Thomas Curley and physician Cornelius McCormick served.[97] The pro-education ministerial influence, prominent since Waltham's beginnings, yielded to a professional and business coalition.

The results became apparent in the mid 1870s. Largely by reducing teacher salaries the committee reduced expenses from $23 per child per year to $18, and reminded the town that they had made "special efforts to conduct the schools with economy."[98] In subsequent years quality education at lower cost was the refrain. Waltham's "excellent schools" cost the taxpayer "less outlay per scholar annually. An increase in pupils and . . . decrease in current expenses . . . should awaken feelings of satisfaction."[99] By 1878 the committee, mesmerized by economy, began to juggle statistics to achieve it. Its report trumpeted that per child expense had fallen to $16.23, but it reached this figure by dividing school expenses by the total number of Waltham children aged five to fifteen. Since not all were in school the true expense was higher. While "constantly and successfully practicing economy," the committee believed that educational quality remained higher than in neighboring towns which spent more.[100] By reducing teacher salaries again in 1879 the cost per child fell under $16. Not surprisingly, teachers began to leave Waltham for better paying positions in nearby towns, and although the committee regretted the loss of experience, it took no action to reverse this process.[101] The committee correlated lower costs and quality education by adopting a bricks and mortar viewpoint. By praising the beauty of the new high school and the remodeling and expansion of several primary schools, the committee concluded that "every stranger who passes through our streets must receive the impression that Waltham is both wise and generous" in providing education.[102] What the "stranger" would say if he or she ventured inside the school was not mentioned.

The economy drive appeared at a time when school committeemen began to doubt the power of education either to control Waltham's social problems or to implant a community culture. In contrast to the

idealistic rhetoric of the 1840s and 1850s the school committee pessimistically noted in 1874 that "the influence of the schoolmaster cannot extend far, even in controlling the manners and outward behavior of his scholars..."[103] Undoubtedly reacting to Waltham's religious diversity, the committee stated that "religion and moral education have their place in the family..."[104] In 1885 the committee exempted Catholic children from participating in the daily devotional if their parents objected to the reading of the King James Bible.[105] Public education no longer provided an introduction to a common culture in a homogenous village. Levels of public education were distinguished by the social class and ethnic, and religious backgrounds of their pupils. School control was exercised by only a part of the town. On the one hand primary schooling was what the "better" class of Walthamites did to the children of the newcomers; on the other hand secondary education was what they did for their own children.

As Waltham education grew, changes in school government became mandatory. School committee members discovered that membership imposed onerous and time-consuming duties. As early as 1865 the committee remarked that it had met more than forty times the previous year as well as examined many students orally.[106] The 1867 committee complained that there was "no municipal position involving... more burdensome duty."[107] By 1879 the committee believed that the supervision of 52 employees, nearly 2000 children, and the complex financing of education overtaxed committee time and energy.[108] On March 17, 1879 the town meeting empowered the committee to hire a superintendent of schools, a power exercised quickly when the committee engaged the former headmaster of the North Grammar School, John T. Prince. When a new edition of school regulations appeared in 1880, the changes became apparent. The time of school committee meetings was regularized, procedural rules adopted, and sub-committees on textbooks, music, and finances created. The committee assigned many of its former duties to Prince: visitation of classrooms, inspection of facilities, alteration of the school calendar, pupil promotion procedures, and production of an annual report.[109]

Having detailed the events which resulted in the transformation of Waltham education, I return to the comparison of Waltham's educational change with that in larger nineteenth century cities. Did Waltham's village background influence the results or the pace of educational change? First, in the area of results there was little difference. By 1880 the Waltham schools had been set on the road to being a professionally run bureaucracy. With professional managers and the reduction of the school committee to advisory body, Waltham schools between 1880 and 1950 closely adhered to national educational practices, passing through phases of interest in manual training, vocational education, school efficiency, Americanization, and testing and guidance. Second, the pace of educational change in Waltham

varied from that of larger cities. Until the 1860s Waltham education remained under the control of the Protestant clergy. These men and neither businessmen nor professional educators were responsible for the systematization of school policies, practices, and procedures. In Waltham, school reorganization was antecedent to professionalization. The control of the schools by traditional leaders provided a fairly tolerant reception for immigrant children by keeping alive the idealistic rhetoric of the common school movement and by maintaining adequate school appropriations. In Katzian terms, Waltham school government before 1840 was a form of democratic localism; the clerical school committees of the next thirty years were an expression of paternalistic voluntarism; and the business-dominated committees of the 1870s, the foundations of bureaucracy.

The significant change in Waltham education was triggered directly not by population increase, not by industrial growth, and not by the arrival of immigrants, but by a change in the backgrounds of school committeemen. About 1870 the business element of the town gained control of the school committee. The results were a less tolerant attitude towards immigrant children, favoritism toward the Yankee-attended grammar and high schools, and the beginnings of professional management and bureaucracy.

On some matters this paper confirms the work of urban educational historians. Clearly the native middle class patronage of Waltham's higher schools paralleled similar developments in other places. However, the relatively small size of the Waltham school system meant that until 1880 power remained in the hands of the committee, and that for many years after 1880 the bureaucracy remained small. In smaller cities such as Waltham historians should look carefully at the sources of school committee membership as indicators of educational change. Lay control of education persisted longer in these places than in major urban centers. The Waltham experience indicates that the thesis that urbanization, industrialization, and immigration with their attendant disruptions of traditional life styles led to the transformation of American education is essentially correct. But the impact of social change was mediated by the effects of Waltham's village history as well as by the locus of power in education during the years of change. There is a need for further studies of towns like Waltham as well as of villages which were relatively unaffected by the forces of urbanization. Such studies will not only deepen our knowledge of local educational history but also will assist historians in avoiding the pitfall of a Whiggish concentration on urban educational history, for even though the roots of today's education are in nineteenth century cities, most nineteenth century children did not attend urban schools.

FOOTNOTES

1 Michael Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy And Schools* (New York Praeger, 1971), p. xx; Stanley Schultz, *The Culture Factory: Boston Public School, 1789-1860*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Selwyn Troen, *The Public And The Schools: Shaping The St. Louis System, 1838-1920*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975) Carl Kaestle, *The Evolution Of An Urban School System: New York City, 1750-1850*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

2 Howard M. Gitelman, *Workingmen of Waltham: Mobility In American Urban Industrial Development, 1850-1890*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), *passim*. See also: *Vital Records of Waltham, Massachusetts To The Year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1904), p. 3.

3 Charles Nelson, *Waltham, Past And Present, And Its Industries* (Cambridge: Moses King, 1882), pp. 71, 80, 83; Edmund L. Sanderson, *Waltham As A Precinct Of Watertown And As a Town* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), pp. 53-55.

4 Samuel Ripley, "A Topographical And Historical Description Of Waltham In The County Of Middlesex, January 1, 1815," (*Massachusetts Historical Collections* 2nd Series, III), pp. 261-284.

5 George H. Martin, *The Evolution Of The Massachusetts Public School System*, (New York: D. Appleton And Company, 1901), p. 197; Waltham: *Free Press* August 17, 1892; Waltham *Free Press*, June 17, 1892.

6 For a broader discussion of the legal bases of early nineteenth century Massachusetts school government, see: Martin, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 92-206.

7 *Annual Report Of The General School Committee Of The Town Of Waltham For The Year 1846*, (Waltham: Josiah Hastings, 1847), p. 5. (Hereinafter Abbreviated *WSCR.*) *WSCR*, 1852, p. 5; *WSCR*, 1853, p. 20; *WSCR*, 1856, p.

8 *WSCR*, 1844, pp. 7-18; *Report Of The Investigating Committee Upon The Subject of Messrs. Whitney and Smith's Report, In Regard To The Schools In Waltham* (Waltham: Josiah Hastings, Printer, 1844).

9 *WSCR*, 1842, p. 7; *WSCR*, 1848, p. 4.

10 *WSCR*, 1842, p. 9.

11 *WSCR*, 1843, p. 51.

12 *WSCR*, 1852, p. 8.

13 *WSCR*, 1854, p. 7.

14 *WSCR*, 1855, p. 7.

15 *WSCR*, 1846, p. 1; See also *WSCR*, 1843, p. 7.

16 *WSCR*, 1844, p. 7-18.

17 *WSCR*, 1842, p. 10.

18 *WSCR*, 1846, p. 3.

19 *WSCR*, 1852, p. 6.

20 *WSCR*, 1854, p. 1. See also *WSCR*, 1855, p. 1.

21 *WSCR*, 1842-60, *passim*. See also: Waltham *Free Press*, June 17, 1892.

22 *WSCR*, 1845, p. 27; *WSCR*, 1855, p. 3; *WSCR*, 1859, p. 26; David Allmendinger, *Paupers And Scholars: The Transformation Of Student Life In Nineteenth Century New England*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

23 *WSCR*, 1850, p. 9.

24 *WSCR*, 1845, p. 36.

25 *WSCR*, 1846, p. 4.

26 *WSCR*, 1863, p. 14.

27 *WSCR*, 1846, p. 2.

28 *Rules And Regulations For The Public Schools In Waltham*, (Waltham: Josiah Hastings, 1850), pp. 1-3.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

30 *WSCR*, 1854, p. 4.

31 *WSCR*, 1842, p.7

32 *WSCR*, 1845, p. 26.

33 *WSCR*, 1850, p. 5.

34 *WSCR*, 1853, p. 20; *WSCR*, 1854, p. 2.

35 *Regulations Of The Public Schools of Waltham, Massachusetts*, (Waltham: Press Of Josiah Hastings, 1855), p. 8.

36 *WSCR*, 1842-60, *passim*.

37 *Rules And Regulations*, p. 6; *Regulations Of The Public Schools*, p. 9; *Rules And Regulations Of The Public Schools Of The Town Of Waltham*, (Waltham: Press Of Josiah Hastings, 1862, p. 7.

38 *WSCR*, 1843, p. 7.

39 *WSCR*, 1857, p. 6.

40 *WSCR*, 1853, p. 21.

41 *WSCR*, 1850, pp. 10-12.

42 *WSCR*, 1845, p. 28.

43 *WSCR*, 1848, p. 3; *WSCR*, 1854, p. 5; *WSCR*, 1857, p. 13.

44 Data From The Following Contributed To This Sketch Of School Committee Members: *Vital Records Of Waltham, Massachusetts To The Year 1850*; Gitelman, Op. Cit., Chs. 5-6; Waltham *Sentinel* 1856-60; *Director Of The Inhabitants, Etc. In The Towns Of Waltham And Watertown For 1871-72*, (Boston: Greenough, Jones And Co., 1871); Nelson, Op. Cit., pp. 111-122; Edmund L. Sanderson, *Waltham Industries: A Collection Of Sketches Of Early Firms And Founders*, (n.p.: Waltham Historical Society, 1957), p. 26.

45 William G. Land, *Thomas Hill, Twentieth President Of Harvard*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933). See Also File Boxes Of Clippings And Pamphlets By And About Hill In The Waltham Room, Waltham Public Library.

46 "Hill's Closing Like A Death In The Family," Boston *Globe*, March 28, 1977.

47 Gitelman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 31-34, 41, 58-64, 105-106, 125, 136.

48 *WSCR*, 1860, p. 6.

49 *WSCR*, 1861, p. 28; *WSCR*, 1863, p. 5.

50 *WSCR*, 1865, p. 5.

51 *WSCR*, 1866, p. 5.

52 *WSCR*, 1874, p. 74.

53 *WSCR*, 1875, p. 120. Despite these anti-immigrant attitudes, Waltham's Catholics did not erect a parochial school until 1888.

54 *WSCR*, 1860, p. 3.

55 *WSCR*, 1877, p. 317.

56 *WSCR*, 1878, pp. 506-507.

57 *WSCR*, 1880, pp. 839-841.

58 *WSCR*, 1873, p. 75.

59 *Rules And Regulations Of The Public Schools Of The Town Of Waltham, Adopted March 26, 1877*. (Waltham: Free Press Book And Job Printing Office, 1877), p. 8.

60 *WSCR*, 1864, p. 10.

61 *WSCR*, 1869, pp. 39-40.

62 *WSCR*, 1863, p. 10.

63 *WSCR*, 1873, p. 75; *WSCR*, 1861, p. 35.

64 *Rules And Regulations*, 1862, p. 7.

65 *WSCR*, 1860-1880, *passim*. 42

66 *WSCR*, 1866, p. 7.

67 On Drawing In Massachusetts See: Norman W. Richards, "Who's In Control? Industrial Education In The Boston Public Schools, 1870-1920" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department Of Education, Boston College, 1976), pp. 22-51.

68 *WSCR*, 1872, p. 7.

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70 *WSCR*, 1870, p. 44.

71 *WSCR*, 1872, pp. 4-5.

72 *WSCR*, 1873, pp. 72-73; *WSCR*, 1878, p. 511; *WSCR* 1879, p. 661.

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74 *WSCR*, 1865, p. 8.

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77 Gitelman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 40-41.

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80 *Catalog Of The Waltham High School From 1847 to 1853*, (Waltham: Josiah Hastings, Printer, 1857), p. 9.

81 *WSCR*, 1863, p. 9.

82 *WSCR*, 1868, p. 45; *WSCR*, 1873, p. 77; Waltham *Sentinel*, July 30, 1869.

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84 "Miscellaneous Exercises Contributed By The Scholars Of The Waltham High School To The Educational Department Of The Centennial Exposition, 1876." (notebook)

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86 *WSCR*, 1878, p. 516.

87 *WSCR*, 1880, p. 837.

88 *Rules And Regulations Of The Public Schools Of The Town Of Waltham Together With The Course Of Study*, (Waltham: Free Press Printing Office, 1880), p. 22.

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90 *WSCR*, 1870, p. 5.

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92 Waltham *Sentinel*, August 28, 1863.

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95 *WSCR*, 1873, p. 71.

96 *WSCR*, 1866-1871, *passim*.

97 *WSCR*, 1860-1880, *passim*; See Also: *Director Of The Inhabitants, Etc., In The Town Of Watertown And Waltham For 1880*, (Boston: W. A. Greenough And Co., 1880).

98 *WSCR*, 1876, p. 146.

99 *WSCR*, 1877, p. 51.

100 *WSCR*, 1878, p. 506.

101 *WSCR*, 1879, p. 660.

102 *WSCR*, 1877, p. 317.

103 *WSCR*, 1874, pp. 81-82.

104 *Ibid*.

105 *Rules, And Regulations Of The Public Schools Of Waltham, Massachusetts*, (Waltham: Free Press Book And Job Printing Office, 1885), p. 17.

106 *WSCR*, 1865, p. 3.

107 *WSCR*, 1867, p. 13.

108 *WSCR*, 1879, pp. 659-660.

109 *Rules And Regulations*, 1880, pp. 5-8.

"THE MOST ORDERED OF RESCUES": A REINTERPRETATION OF CHILDHOOD HISTORY AND THE COMMON SCHOOL*

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If as Frank Manuel[1] has claimed, Philippe Ariés' *Centuries of Childhood* (1960) is the Holy Writ of childhood and family history, then as with other holy books its precepts are seldom acted upon.[2] If Ariés' interpretation of the relationship of childhood to institutions is convincing, then we must determine whether this relationship helps us to understand the major institutional development in western education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The following analysis attempts to explicate three maior themes, all crucial to understanding the significance of Ariés' conceptual framework in relationship of the common school. First, it will be asked, to what extent does "childhood" as a concept imply 'rescue' and how has this condition developed in the past several centuries. We must recapitulate Ariés' central argument. Secondly, to what extent does Ariés explain the structuring of reality as the result of concepts such as "childhood" becoming deeply ingrained as "world-image" or "mentality"? For example, do children have certain characteristics we call childhood because we make it so rather than these being a priori or "natural"? The third major thrust of the paper will be to relate the necessary and sufficient conditions of the concept of childhood to the promotion of the common school idea. The "concept of childhood" may well give the necessary unity to other interpretations of the rise of the common school if not suggest a more comprehensive way of understanding its relationship to the concept of childhood whose fundamental meaning implies "rescue". Part one of the paper examines Ariés' analysis, while part two extends the analysis into the nineteenth century by demonstrating that the concept of childhood came to embrace all classes of the youthful population in the nineteenth century in the common school which represented "the most ordered of rescues."

Ariés claimed that a major transformation of western society occurred between the late Middle Ages and the eighteenth century. It is particularly noteworthy that Ariés decided to organize his historical investigation around concepts related to family life and that he chose as the central concept that of "childhood." The main thrust of his argument was that whatever the status of children under seven, medieval society had "no concept of childhood," that is, there was no recognized specialized age period that required its own institutions and

practices or that was seen as having its own unique values, characteristics, privileges, and restrictions. Thus, once children began to demonstrate those necessary conditions of adulthood, i.e., reason, concentration, and sufficient strength, they were quickly inducted into adult roles – whether occupational in apprenticeship and domestic service, or social in family service, or intellectual in education.

The crucial element of Ariés' thesis is that our world is socially constructed, that "reality" is ordered and given significance by man, that concepts are the means by which we turn our reality into actuality. Thus, the absence of a concept of childhood meant that medieval society did not *neglect* childhood but rather that it was not *part of their mentality*. To determine what "childhood" entailed, Ariés was forced to consider the reality of the Middle Ages that was transformed into the actuality of the nineteenth century, by analyzing the status of children in the Middle Ages in contrast to the lives of children in the nineteenth century, thereby exposing radically different social worlds.

It is now necessary to do some of our own analysis of Ariés' work in order to make explicit those elements that are essential to an extension of his method into the world of the Common School. The following analysis is, I think, fully faithful to Ariés but also does provide a heuristic framework that makes his insight and method more readily applicable to the period under discussion. In addition it should be mentioned that this analytical breakdown is only implicit in *Centuries of Childhood* and that the explication is basically our attempt (Patricia Rooke and myself) to demonstrate Ariés' contribution to the history of family life and childhood to students in history of education courses at the Universities of Alberta and Calgary respectively.

Because "childhood" is the central concept in Ariés' study of the social transformation of the western world, we must determine the necessary and sufficient conditions of "childhood" by examining the actuality of the nineteenth century, i.e., as in the case of the analytic philosopher we must look to common usage and practice to empty the concept of all but its essential meaning;[3] i.e., the four criteria of the concept – dependence, protection, segregation, and delayed responsibility – that helped frame Ariés' historical analysis. Although the criteria suggest an unique status for children, one of privilege, they also more importantly demonstrate the motive or reason underlying the "discovery" of childhood, that is, "rescue."

It is quite logical that new social groups could be "invented" that would confer largely privileges and power; but childhood appears to have balanced any substantial privileges with equally substantial restrictions. Although one would be mad to think that physical privation and abuse, hunger,[4] disease, and lack of proper shelter are advantages, there is still the possibility that such liabilities can be eased (if not eliminated) without the surrender of significant freedom. The four criteria identified by Ariés makes manifest that "childhood" had

built into it a central core of control, that is, although the concept allowed for the development and encouragement of specifically childish attributes it also demanded conformity needed to foster childhood for children. Particularly, the criteria signaled the kind of rescue to be attempted, namely, one from the contamination of adult society.

It is useful to return to Ariés' description of the status of children in the Middle Ages in order to understand what conditions children were being rescued from and what freedom they exchanged for childhood. For very young children, those under seven, the exchange was largely positive. Tiny children are absent from "the written record" because they were perceived as simply the preliminary to some participation in society.[5] As a preliminary, little children did not count in themselves. High mortality rates and a general low level of health care meant an uncertainty about survival at any age, but particularly during the first few years.[6]

For these little children, the criteria represented a real improvement in their chance for survival in that instead of unconcern, adults were driven to exercise that care, physical and psychological, that foster the prolonging of human life. What is being argued here is that little children require substantial care and attention, that they are already dependent, that protection and segregation made possible the solicitude needed and that even medieval society did not expect toddlers to assume adult duties.

For older children, the issue is much more complex. We must straightforwardly address ourselves to the matter of the dangers facing children who were early absorbed into adult society. One need not agree with Lloyd deMause that "the history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken,"[7] in order to understand the appalling conditions and chances that faced children and adults in medieval society. Obviously children faced heightened dangers because of their physical weakness, inexperience, and general psychological vulnerability. We must at the same time recognize that early initiation into socially significant activity had certain major human value. Much sociological and psychological literature which Marx has contributed to the field has emphasized the importance of work that has social meaning for the development of a sense of individual worth.[8] Given the technological development of medieval society, apprenticeship and service were the major avenues to mastery of highly valued skills and knowledge as well as forms of menial work.[9]

That most children and adults were destined for menial occupations should not blind us to four considerations. First, there is little evidence that given our high technology and our obsessive concern with personal freedom and fulfillment that we are more significantly "happy" than other eras. We are not considering the possibility that our high technology has made our "creature comfort" standard of living higher than ever before but rather the mental and psychological sense of

well-being. Secondly, it might be argued the service or productive activity that is valuable to the society – even if menial activity – is an important part in the development of a positive self-concept. Given the limited technology of medieval society, much of the labor would be direct and clearly related to the functioning of the society or its sub-unit. That is, service in a castle or big house had none of the impersonality of the modern automated factory.

Thirdly, in those initiatory activities that led to sophisticated skills and knowledge, apprenticeship and service provided an immediate and direct induction into the "secrets of the trade." With the propensity of the 1960s and 70s to carp on the themes of relevance, participatory education, and behavioral objectives and outcomes, we should be hesitant to condemn out of hand an educational system that so eminently satisfies the demands of our own century.[10] Fourthly, social scientists and others have stressed the importance of risk-taking in the attainment of effective adulthood.[11] Although children faced many dangers, early initiation into socially valuable labor provided the opportunity – with all of it risks – to gain skill and knowledge. If the children put to service and apprenticeship suffered greatly, their suffering must be understood as part of the general conditions of medieval life and as the risk undertaken when children were allowed to demonstrate their abilities (within certain social limits) alongside adults.

In defining social reality, the concept of childhood demanded that the control so obviously beneficial in the case of little children be extended first to those who would have had ordinarily entered service or apprenticeship and then to pubescent youth. In emphasizing the power of concepts to structure social reality, we are claiming that such concepts are not something that we can employ as we will but rather once part of culture they give meaning to our world. It is only with great difficulty that we are able to comprehend a world without them.[12]

Thus, in rescuing children from adult society, in insuring that children have a childhood, the proponents of "childhood" effected a series of revolutions in western society. Dependence meant that children must not only be withdrawn from adult society, from an early participation into meaningful labor, but the "weaknesses" of children must be emphasized and made into absolute, although temporary disabilities. In brief, dependence demanded the notion of childish incompetence. The duties and responsibilities of life had to be portrayed as particularly onerous and damaging to children – the final separation of children from the socially useful. Since children were to be rescued from the evils of adult society, they must be the object of special legislation, regulations and institutions that would protect them.[13]

In the second part of *Centuries of Childhood*, "Scholastic Life," Ariés examined the impact of the developing concept of childhood on

European educational practices and institutions. We must explore two of his themes – growing class distinctions and the appearance of a new age group concept, "adolescence."[14] In the chapter on the "Little Schools," Ariés analyzed the origins of the first schools of elementary education in post-classical antiquity. Although the skillful reconstruction of the little schools and their role in the development of educational structures based on class lines are important in themselves, our primary concern is with the significance of the little schools as pedagogical expressions of the criteria of childhood.

Although Ariés examined the origins of the "little schools"[15] in great detail, the rise of schooling for the lower orders was generally outside the main line of his analysis. Ariés chronicled the steady erosion of scholarly liberty with the imposition of codes of conduct suitable for young children on a wide range of clerks and scholars in colleges, the shift in discipline from a heavy reliance on corporal punishment to more humane but probably more effective psychological techniques, and the growing tendency to interpret the need for protection and segregation from adult society into an imperative for continual organizational refinement of the scholastic life.[16] In particular the lycees and colleges of the nineteenth century were marked by insights into the psychology of children – young and old – that required age-grading and that maintain unique characteristics not simply for childhood but indeed for segments of that age group.

The process of reducing pubescent youth to children faltered before the difficulties of containing their libidos. Also, with the regularization and extension of school life for the upper order, the lycees and colleges had to create a new social category, "adolescence," to provide for the control and development of youth who were no longer the "old fogies" of the medieval universities.[17] Instead these lads were on schedule in the ordered and sequential scholastic program. Thus, they were legitimately there. What was required then was a concept that made their status distinct from that of children, that took account of their energies – especially sexual energy.[18]

The concepts of childhood and adolescence provided for the separation of children and youth from adult society by emphasizing their dependence, i.e., by denying them entry to adult occupations; by protecting them from contamination by means of specialized institutions; and by denying them the risks and responsibilities of life by perceiving them, children and youth alike, as essentially unfit to assume certain adult responsibilities.

It can be seen that the principal focus has been on what we might call the middle and upper classes and the aristocracy. The Christian churches did much to popularize the view of children as innocents, washed clean by baptism, whose weakened wills and darkened intellects required the careful attention and guidance of parents and church.[19] Although such religious imagery often extended through all social

groups, the full impact of the concepts of childhood and particularly adolescence was felt only in those classes that made effective use of secondary education.

It is this fact that has often caused us to underestimate the usefulness of these concepts in understanding the rise of popular education in the nineteenth century and its extension into secondary and tertiary levels in the twentieth. In brief, Ariés' analysis has established that the concept of childhood is linked to the changes that transformed schooling by the nineteenth century. Although the changes were universal in that they turned schools into children's institutions and worked for substantial reduction in the freedoms of older students, as long as schooling and particularly extended schooling was experienced by only a small segment of the society, the concept would have only limited impact on society. Thus, while Ariés has demonstrated the triumph of the concept of childhood (and also adolescence) among the elite, we are left with a sense of incompleteness. His failure to consider the establishment of systems of popular schooling missed an opportunity to comprehend the full significance of the concept of childhood; therefore, part two of this paper will attempt to extend into the nineteenth century where Ariés left off in the eighteenth.

II

The rise of the common school has been subjected to various interpretations, each plausible, each containing partially adequate explanations, but each, in the final analysis, remaining incomplete. The persistent *evolutionary idealist* interpretation sees the common school as an unconditional good, an inevitable improvement for a society committed to progress.[20] A more recent interpretation, it seems, has found the evolutionary idealists standing on their heads and has set them right side up. Thus the *social controllers* see the common school as the final middle class instrument to socialize, indoctrinate, and mollify the "lower orders" and apparently the middle class young too.[21] In both themes schooling is seen as the centre of the educational enterprise – either total hero or total villain in the story.

A third interpretation – more popular with British historians of education than their North American counterparts – is that of *social conflict* and includes elements of both evolutionary idealist and social control models.[22] It, however, does not see the common school as totally an imposition on the working classes by middle class school promoters but also sees the advanced elements of the working class society active in their history and actually securing educational provisions.

A fourth and most recent interpretation has been born not surprisingly out of the twentieth century obsession with psychological explanations for human motives, behavior, and consequently institutions. The *anxiety model*[23] makes use of Lloyd deMause's

psychogenic theory of childhood. Although it is not within the scope of this paper to fully discuss or even describe this *theory's* implications, it must suffice to observe that the "anxiety model" promulgates a view that anxiety plagued parents unable to rescue their children as totally as they desired required an ally in the process of control and rescue and in the extension of childhood for longer periods of time. The common school was eminently suited for such a task.

The description of the four interpretations is far too brief as it stands but to ponder their strengths and weaknesses, their consistencies and contradictions, would prevent us from proceeding to the crux of this paper, which attempts to see childhood as an ideology – a world view, an essential part of the middle class mentality – and its importance to the creation of a common school for all classes of children, not only those of the middle classes.

We must now return to our earlier consideration of the concept of childhood and four criteria and seek to extend its explanatory power to the rise of the common school in the nineteenth century. It is first essential to recall that organizational concepts such as childhood are not ideas that we can employ whimsically but rather are the means by which our world is constructed. To borrow from Erik Erikson, such concepts constitute an *ideology.*[24] They provide us with a *world image* that makes our lives and actions reasonable and have point. Concepts define our world, our reality, and our morality.

Until we grasp the nature of the triumph of the "discovery of childhood," we will underestimate its explanatory power. What Ariès described in great detail is not merely a social transformation in all its complexity but more importantly the victory of a concept that radically changed the *mentality* of western society. That childhood and adolescence made progress slowly, finding most rapid assimilation among the middle classes in western nations, is understandable for several reasons.

First, the traditional forms of education and socialization, apprenticeship and service, were viable as long as the life for which they were initiatory remained relatively stable. The two ends of the socioeconomic continuum remained faithful to the old forms for quite different reasons. The "nobility" by definition possessed the best possible life style in their societies and at the opposite end of the continuum, the urban and rural laboring classes clearly occupied the least desirable stations in life. In both social and industrial terms, the necessary training for such classes of people was amply provided by apprenticeship and domestic service and there was no social or political imperative to provide, much less to compel, schooling for the lower orders.

The middling classes occupied a much different situation. Suspended, as it were, between the best and the worst of the social strata, they were faced with the possibility that to stand still was, in a buoyant

society, to drop closer to the social bottom while in times of economic hardship all the previously gained margin could be destroyed. What is being emphasized here is the notion that the middle classes are psychologically and temporally men in the "middle," men with an eye to social and individual improvement.[25] What was needed for them educationally were forms that promoted flexibility and social improvement. The traditional forms of training were marked by stability and habituation. On the other hand, schooling with its concentration on abstraction and language offered the scope for future choices.[26]

In the case of the middle classes, the four criteria of childhood with the requirements of specialized institutions – segregation, protection, and prolonged economic and psychological dependence – coincided nicely with their existing preference for extensive instruction. Consequently, the concept of childhood, and later of adolescence, was functional in the life style of the middle classes. What was socially and occupationally functional in a concrete historical situation would become in time a concept that effectively defined social and moral reality not only for the children of the middle classes but for all children.

The central role of the middle classes in the promotion of common schooling is a commonplace in all the major interpretations of nineteenth century education. Whether their influence is viewed as beneficial or pernicious, all agree that middle class humanitarianism, Christian and secular, provided the campaigning that fired the cry for popular education. That the middle classes first assimilated childhood as part of their ideology gives us a key with which to unlock the meaning of those campaigns.

The middle classes had "discovered" childhood because it was functional in the objective conditions of their life situation. The fact the concept took several centuries to come to maturity and to find social expression in the institutions of education and family demonstrates the radical transformation demanded by it. Significantly girls of the higher orders were more backward in being assimilated into childhood.[27] Once again we have a good indication of the integral relationship of schooling to the spread of the concept. Girls remained largely undifferentiated from women. Although elite families did not seek to produce clod-hopping daughters, the necessary training for even noble girls could be adequately acquired through an apprenticeship within family service or in convents. Thus, even into the nineteenth century childhood remained incomplete within the elite of western societies. It is perhaps not unreasonable to see these girls as the "lower orders" within the middle and upper classes!

Whatever the victory of childhood among the middle classes, the concept required the rescue of children and youth from the evils of adult society. Some changes in "scholastic life," e.g., age-grading and emphasis on psychology, represented enduring traits of the new

education; others such as boarding schools were temporary, reflecting the initial need to over-protect against a seemingly chaotic social order. Only when the criteria that defined childhood came to order society generally could pedagogues and parents relax their vigilence. Once the concept of childhood had been assimilated, the socially conscious among the middle classes *saw their social reality as including childhood.* With childhood as a normal part of society, with childhood as a moral requirement, social reformers were confronted with an anomally within their social world, namely *that some children either rejected or were denied a childhood.* One, or more, or all, of the necessary and sufficient conditions of childhood, were not part of the lives of certain children.

We can, thus, understand the campaigns for popular education as the working out of the middle class mentality that had come to see childhood as an essential and normative aspect of its world image. The world of the middle class reformers demanded that every child have a "childhood." Therefore, the triumph of childhood required compulsory universal schooling. And since childhood was a moral imperative, the reformers could not rely upon the goodwill of individuals. However, whereas childhood and schooling were functional for the middle classes, it was doubtful that such was necessarily the case for other social groups.

The social groups still without a childhood were variously identified as the poor, the lower order, the "dangerous and perishing classes," the labouring classes, and the common people. Their children were still largely independent, not segregated, exposed to drink, crime, neglect, and hard labor, and made to assume responsibilities early. If these children were to be made "normal," that is, to conform to "the true position of childhood," their conditions of life had to be radically altered.[28] For those children without parents or with unfit parents, the reformers created refuges, asylums, and orphanages and later on adoption and fostering. For those children deemed guilty of or prone to activities deemed unfit for children, they established reformatories, the term "delinquent," juvenile courts and laws.[29] For normal children with parents, the common schools became the means of including *all* children (including girls) in the middle class concept of childhood. In this way did the middle class mentality manifest itself in social reality.

If the centuries following the Middle Ages were in a sense a pilgrimage to "childhood," the school promoters of the nineteenth century erected society's most ornate shrine to that concept. The common school, the physical expression of popular education, represented the final institutionalization of childhood. Before the nineteenth century, the concept had gained mastery only among the elites of western societies, and then only for sons and on a voluntary basis. The common school advocates preached a gospel of universal childhood in which all children were called to dependence, protection, segregation, and delayed responsibility! Unlike the asylums for

neglected, abandoned, dependent, and delinquent children, the common school operated on the principle that children were intrinsically innocent but vulnerable and all needed to be rescued.

The nineteenth century search for method and organizational principles can be viewed as attempts to render the dependence so crucial to childhood, proof against the vagaries of teachers and parents. Even as children were to be brought to complete submission in order to insure the proper moral development so too were teachers to be guided in securing that submission and development by methodology and organization based upon theoretical principles thoroughly in accord with the concept of childhood. In particular, the major pedagogical theorists emphasized the discipline of rationally ordered activities. The natural necessity of Rousseau, the power of affection and trained perception of Pestalozzi, the integrative power of play of Froebel, the discipline imposed by social purpose and interactive activity of Dewey, and the absorption in developmental tasks of Montessori all worked within the concept of childhood. Even those, who like Dewey, argued for a social basis for education were compelled to postulate pedagogical practices that created quasi-societal settings that were stripped of all the risks of adult life.[30]

The more pedestrian theorists envisioned and often established systems of instruction that emphasized orderly movement, mental as well as physical; standard units of instruction and learning; and psychological principles of control. In those schools and systems of schools where feasible, standardized sequential curricula and methods, uniformly trained teachers, uniformed children marching to and from class, bands, and psychologically based discipline, made the school day orderly, protected, and isolated from the more chaotic society.[31]

This world of the common school incorporated the criteria of childhood, and thus, brought the benefits of childhood to all who systematically attended it. In this sense, common schools functioned as assimilators of cultural, ethnic, and class differences – not by eliminating such differences but rather by providing a common social reality – a childhood for all. Given the urban base of middle class life, it is not surprising that the school promoters turned their attention to the urban working classes who by their visibility were the first of the lower orders to receive the benefits of compulsory popular education and thereby be compelled to fit into the concept of childhood. Another minority that remained outside childhood and that was still a part of the old social order was also socially re-integrated by common schooling. Girls were now also sent to school to share in childhood with their brothers. Finally, the last minority to be assimilated was the rural working classes. Of all the reluctant minorities the rural population held out the longest not merely because of geographical isolation, the inadequacy of governmental authority and the economic necessity for child labor, but also because the rural occupational skills were still most effectively acquired by the old forms of apprenticeship and service.[32]

The intrinsic worthwhileness of childhood is crucial to an understanding of some of the logical difficulties inherent in both the social control and social conflict theories of education. Although the middle classes were anxious about the security of their persons and their property in the face of a growing urban mass and the industrial owning classes were eager to have a disciplined and skillful work force, it does seem that such objectives could have been achieved by means other than common schools. Also, much of the regimen of these schools did not differ significantly from that provided in schools for the children of the higher orders. Unless one wants to argue that the elites were consciously offering the same social sedative to their children that they were feeding the rest of the community to keep it docile and subservient (and this would be an odd argument indeed since the purpose of the opiate was to allow the aggressive and energetic elite to work its will!), we are forced to conclude that *the school promoters were seeking to extend a good to ALL children* and they were not simply the imposers – under cover of democratic rhetoric – of social and psychopolitical controls.[33]

The grasp of childhood on the middle class mentality also provides us with another way of viewing the optimism of the evolutionary idealist interpretation. Given the value of childhood and the belief that schooling was the surest way to its beneficient spread, the evolutionary idealists gloried in every instance of its refinement, improvement, and increased availability. Historical studies in that tradition are veritable litanies of progress, goodwill, and man's humanity to man and adults' humanity to children!

In the case of the social conflict theorists the propensity of such liberationists as Robert Owen to exclude children from the harsh life of the mills and mines and to segregate them in schools must be understood as something more than protecting the weak from the rigors of an appalling industrial regimen. Indeed, to protect children while allowing adults to be broken under the brutal demands of labor seem to fly in the face of all these reformers wanted. A reformed social system would have liberated mankind from the bondage of servile and unthinking toil, intellectual poverty, and social and political impotence. In short, the "new moral order"[34] could have provided the initiation, at least in terms of work and social activity, without the demeaning aspects of inferiority common in the old order. Even those who saw popular education as the instrument of social and political liberation were forced to cast their educational prescriptions in terms that recognized the moral imperative of providing all children with a childhood.

Barbara Finkelstein's theory of anxiety as the motivating force behind the middle class support of popular education in the nineteenth century comes closest to identifying the basis of the common school campaigns. Although one might recognize a certain anxiety among the middle classes, it is mistaken to see it as *psychological* a la Lloyd deMause's psychogenic theory. Instead we can more usefully identify

the anxiety as essentially *sociological*, that is, as arising out of a perceived discrepancy between the moral imperative defined by childhood and social reality.

Middle class reformers found it intolerable that there were large numbers of children without a childhood which was now seen as a natural condition and what had been a sentimental philanthropy – the reforming of and caring for children – now became a moral imperative, manifested in an institutional reality. The common school was indeed the "most ordered of rescues."

The common school kept all children compulsorily *segregated* for a good portion of their time from the harsh rigors of the adult social and moral world. As a legal imperative and a physical entity, it provided *protection* for the young. It rescued them by insisting that all children participate in a way of life common to them all – childhood. It insisted on longer and longer periods of *dependence* upon the adult population – dependence that was psychological, economic, and physical. Children of all strata were to be reduced to the same dependence – as absolute for the middle class child as for the child of the laboring masses. Thus, the dependence of childhood was irrelevant to objective social conditions. Although the most fulsome expressions of such childish dependence are found in the writings about juvenile delinquency and reform, there is no doubt that these sentiments underlie much of common school theory and practice.

Furthermore, the common school promised a period of *delayed responsibilities* from the world of adult crassness and demands. The common school, by embracing all of these conditions that Ariés evidences, even if he does not explicate, became the quintessence of childhood experience. It guaranteed a childhood to *all* children and ultimately prevented any children from *not* partaking of the four necessary conditions. Childhood was based on "rescue" and so was the common school. How more ordered could a rescue be than that which rescued *all* children who by chance or by will were excluded from any or all of the criteria of childhood – and better yet, a rescue whose aim was to prevent the majority of children from falling away from the criteria of childhood, that is, rescued before the fact!

In conclusion Ariés' argument of the concept of childhood in transforming western society into its present form can be usefully extended to comprehend the full meaning of the promotion and establishment of common schooling in the nineteenth century. Seeing "childhood" as a dominant assumption of the middle class ideology provides us with a clearer understanding of the drive to institutionalize all children into a universal "childhood" and offers us the means of reconciling opposing opinion on their motives and the effects of such schooling. The concept of childhood offers an organizing principle by which we are able to relate diverse evidence and interpretations.

NOTES

[1] Frank E. Manuel, "The Use and Abuse of Psychology in History," in *Historical Studies Today* ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p. 227.

[2] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965). Originally published as *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancine regime* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1960).

[3] R. S. Peters demonstrates how this is done by looking at "education" and other related concepts in *Ethics and Education* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).

[4] For detailed descriptions of child abuse, see Lloyd deMause (ed.), *The History of Childhood* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1975), and in particular deMause's "The Evolution of Childhood," pp. 1-73.

[5] Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 104.

[6] Mary Martin McLaughlin, "Survivors and Surrogates: Children and Parents from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries," in *The History of Childhood* ed. Lloyd deMause (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1975), pp. 101-181; T. H. Hollingsworth, *Historical Demograph* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 290-292; and E. A. Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon," *Daedalus* 97 (Spring 1968): 546-580. Lloyd deMause provides a lengthy discussion of filicide in "The Formation of the American Personality Through Psychospeciation," *Journal of Psychohistory* 4(Summer 1976): 16-22, 28-30.

[7] DeMause, "Evolution of Childhood," p. 1.

[8] In the "eight ages of man," Erik H. Erikson has postulated a psychosocial theory of human development in which each stage is characterized by its unique crisis and potential resolution in the form of power or disposition. Each stage has a "task" that must be sucessfully accomplished if the personality is to at one with itself and its world. In particular, Erikson identified the fourth stage (latency: 6-12 years) as marked by the crisis of industry versus inferiority and possible realization of "competence" in the use of the society's technology. *Childhood and Society* (2nd ed.; New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), pp. 258-260.

[9] *Centuries of Childhood*, pp. 192-194, 204, 290-291, and 365-368; and Magdalen King-Hall, *The Story of the Nursery* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), ;. 21-23. For post-medieval apprenticeship and service in old and new England, see Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society, vol. 1: *From Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), ch. 9; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), chs. 3 and 5; and Levin L. Schucking, *The Puritan Family: A Social Study from Literary Sources* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), chs. 2 and 3.

[10] Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1971); Carl Bereiter, *Must We Educate?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1971).

[11] The whole of Erik H. Erikson's work is an explication of man's need to confront and come to terms with his world. Besides *Childhood and Society*, see his two psychobiographical studies, *Young Man Luther* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958) and *Gandhi's Truth* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), as well as the essays in *Insight and Responsibility* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964)

and *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975). For risk-taking as entrepeneurship, see D. C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1958), and David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (abridged ed.; Hew Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

12 Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1966). Two Australian scholars have argued the importance of concepts in structuring the way we see children; however, their analysis is psychological rather than the historical one attempted here. John Cleverley and D. C. Phillips, *From Locke to Spock: Influential Models of the Child in Modern Western Thought* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1976), pp. 1-8.

13 Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); Joseph M. Hawes, *Children in Urban Society: Juvenile Delinquency in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Robert M. Mennel, *Thorns and Thistles: Juvenile Delinquents in the United States, 1825-1940* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1973); Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, volume 2: *From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1948* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); and Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

14 Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), and Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd* (New York: Random House, 1960), are good examples of the literature of soured youth.

15 Although vernacular little schools provided a form of education that could have served as a general preparation for life, vernacular *schooling* was not perceived as essential for life; and based upon social need for literacy and related skills, one wonders when merely commercial and industrial needs would have made it imperative.

16 "The Progress of Discipline," *Centuries of Childhood*, pp. 241-268.

17 *Centuries of Childhood*, p. 168.

18 *Centuries of Childhood*, pp. 29-32, 164, 261, and 268. Also "La Famille: Mousseau, "The Family, Prison of Love," *Psychology Today* (August 1975): 53-58.

19 The eighteenth century Arminian breakthrough replaced much Calvinistic theology in the nineteenth century, and this contributed to a subsequent modification of the idea of infant depravity. Thus, the tenderer attitudes toward childhood had a theological as well as a Lockean rational basis. If all men might be saved, then children particularly could be rescued. See Bernard Semmel, *The Methodist Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), and Ford K. Brown, *The Fathers of Victorians* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

20 Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), and C. E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: Gage, 1957).

21 Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Change in America* (rev. ed.; New York: Praeger, 1975); Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, and Joel Spring, *Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1973); and Colin Greer, *The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education* (New York: Viking Press, 1972). The most forthright statement of the social control

view of the motivation behind common schooling is Michael B. Katz' assertion that education was "something the better part of the community did to the others to make them orderly, moral, and tractable," *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. x.

22 Brian Simon,
Lawrence and Wishart, 1960-74); Harold Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1965); M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement* (London: Frank Cass, 1964); Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); and J.F.C. Harrison, *Learning and Living* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

The working classes, or at least their organized elements, created and supported Sunday schools, mechanic institutions, and a variety of mutual-aid activities that were educational in the broad sense.

In a paper presented at the 1976 American Historical Association meeting, Carl F. Kaestle has made an admirable effort to break out of the logical impasse of social control theory by connecting schooling and the history of childhood. "Social Change, Discipline, and the Common School in Early Nineteenth – America." Washington, D.C., December, 1976.

23 Barbara Finkelstein, "Pedagogy as Intrusion: Teaching Values in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-Century America," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2(Winter 1975): 349-378; and "The Fear of Childhood: Relationships Between Parents and Teachers in Popular Primary Schools in the Nineteenth Century," *ibid.* 3(Winter 1976): 321-335.

24 "*Ideology* will mean an unconscious tendency underlying religious and scientific as well as political thought: the tendency at given time to make facts amenable to ideas and ideas to facts, in order to create a world image convincing enough to support the collective and the individual sense of identity.... The total perspective created by ideological simplification reveals its strength by the dominance it exerts on the seeming logic of historical events, and by its influence on the identity formation of individuals." *Young Man Luther*, p. 22

25 For social mobility, aspiring minds, and resocialization, see Anthony Esler, *Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966); Ernest Barker, *Traditions of Civility: Eight Essays* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1967); Arthur B. Ferguson, *Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1965); and John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

26 Fritz Caspari, *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968).

27 *Centuries of Childhood*, pp. 58 and 331-333.

28 Pinchbeck and Hewitt, II: 474.

29 For one description of this development, see Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

30 Martin S. Dworkin (ed.), *Dewey on Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1957).

31 David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971).

[32] The export of western style compulsory schooling to developing countries and the extension of common schooling to immigrant groups do more than make available modern industrial values and knowledge; they radically alter social structures by creating new social categories, childhood and adolescence.

[33] Indeed those very habits and virtues that the middle classes intended to inculcate into the working class behavior were not less imperative for the behavior of their own children. This is exemplified in the Evangelical discipline becoming Victorian virtues. See Mary Cable, *The Little Darlings: A History of Childrearing in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), especially ch. 5; Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); Jean Latham, *Happy Families* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1974); Magdalen King-Hall, *The Story of the Nursery*, ch. 5; Peter Covenay, *The Image of Childhood* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967); John McLeish, *Evangelical Religion and Popular Education* (London: Methuen, 1969); and Ivor Morrish, *Education Since 1800* (George Allen and Unwin, 1970). For a contemporary exposition, see Sarah Trimmer, *Instructive Tales* (London, 1821), especially "Means to Promote Piety and Virtues," pp. 254-260.

[34] J.F.C. Harrison (ed.), *Utopianism and Education: Robert Owen and the Owenites* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969), and *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968).

PART II

A TRIBUTE TO HAROLD B. DUNKEL

INTRODUCING HAROLD B. DUNKEL,

MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY MEETING

October 28, 1977

by

Robert L. McCaul

Harold B. Dunkel, professor of education at the University of Chicago, reached retirement age during the last school year. He is still teaching and he is still as productive as ever. Just this morning he delivered the manuscript of his latest book to the University of Chicago Press. But a meeting of this Society at such a time affords us an opportunity to show our affection and respect for Harold. Our program chairman, Peter De Boer, has invited Harold to give the banquet speech tonight and has asked me, a long-time Dunkel friend and colleague, to introduce him.

My introductory remarks are as long as Harold's speech, I find. I am not embarrassed, however, because this will probably be the only chance I shall have to pay an extended public tribute to Harold. And I am sure that you would want me to. At least one-third of this audience, so I would estimate, has taken courses from Harold and the other two-thirds have heard him speak and have been exposed in one way or another to the warm rays of the Dunkel personality and humor. Besides Harold was an early and regular participant in meetings of this Society, and in introducing him I can also tell you something about the origins of the Midwest History of Education Society.

The first official meeting of the Society was held here at Loyola on May 6 and 7, 1966. The meeting was in response to an invitation sent out to historians of education in the region by Kenneth L. Beasley, Northern Illinois University at De Kalb, who with Gerald L. Gutek, Loyola University of Chicago, had wondered about the possibility of organizing a society whose meetings would offer "a platform for the presentation of papers, by both professors and graduate students, and a forum to appraise papers and projects in the give and take of free discussion," and thus enable "historians of education to meet both professionally and socially." (I quote from Ken. Beasley's invitation, March 1, 1966.) The meeting was held on May 6 and 7, and papers were given by Walter H. Drost, then of Valparaiso University, on "David Snedden and Social Efficiency in the Curriculum," by Donald R. Warren, then of Illinois Teachers College, on "Founding of the U.S. Department (Office) of Education, 1865-1867," and by the late Stanley E. Ballinger, Indiana University, on "Classification and Critical

Appraisal of Generalizations in the History of Education." There was also a panel on the question, "What is the Relationship between History of Education and Comparative Education?", led by Arthur E. Lean, Southern Illinois University, and Andreas M. Kazamias, University of Wisconsin. For the record the persons attending that meeting were, in addition to those I have mentioned already and myself, Harold E. Berquist Jr., Father J. C. Bronars, DePaul University, M. M. Chambers, Indiana University, Rosemary Donatelli, Loyola University, F. Courtland Gilmour, James D. Hendricks, Northern Michigan University, Frank Klassen, University of Illinois, James Merritt, Northern Illinois University, Edward Rutkowski, State College of Iowa, Sam Shermis, Purdue University, John Wozniak, Loyola University, and Frank Yuhas, Ball State University. We voted to organize the "Midwest History of Education Society," and we elected as our first officers Ken Beasley, President, Frank Klassen, Vice President and Program Chairman and, Jerry Gutek, Secretary-Treasurer. You will note that Harold Dunkel did not attend that first meeting; he was then a fellow out at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto. He returned to Chicago in the summer and attended our second meeting on October 28 and 29, 1966, presenting a paper on "Herbart's Pedagogical Seminar." He has attended every meeting since, I think.

I shall begin my tribute to Harold by telling you that I have known him for 37 years. It was in 1940 that he and Ben Bloom came walking into my classroom in the University of Chicago High School, where I was a teacher of remedial and developmental reading. I did not see much of Harold over the next ten years, but in 1950 we found ourselves sharing with each other and with Hugh Walpole an office in the University of Chicago board of examinations section in the Administration Building. In the more than a quarter of a century since, scarcely a day has gone by that we have not conversed about the state of the world, of education, of history or philosophy, of the Department of Education, of the University of Chicago, or about the state of our own minds, bodies, or psyches. By now I suppose that I can fairly safely report that I am rather well acquainted with Harold.

I should like to begin with an anecdote that will tell you something about Harold's style and will, in addition, inform you of the structure these introductory remarks will assume. Five or six years ago my daughter, Margaret, decided to fulfill an assignment in an education course she was taking at the University of Wisconsin by writing a review of Harold's *Herbart and Education*. She wrote the review but never did allow me to read it--as we all know, one of the penalties of being a faculty child is that if you put anything in writing in front of your father he will immediately reach for his red pencil and begin scratching and marking and may even put a low grade and some disparaging remarks at the end. Margaret and I did talk over the book, however, and one of the questions she asked me was "Why does Harold keep on

saying such things as 'But that is a subject that need not detain us here' or 'Let us move on to more important matters'?" I gave the answer anyone would who has read much of Harold's stuff or often heard him speak: He is always trying to get down to the bare essentials, to strip away until nothing is left except the very nub of the matter. He wastes no words. His thinking style and his writing style are terse, compact, and impactful. His articles, books, and speeches (even the one tonight I would predict, although he may now change it in the delivery to disprove what I am saying) are full of sentences beginning, "In brief," "In short," "To summarize," and the like. He is fond of numbering his points: "First," "Second," "Third," and even "Fourth," "Fifth," and "Sixth." In what I shall say I shall try to emulate his brevity and his habit of numbering his divisions.

First, Harold is the most versatile person I have ever known. In himself he is a walking Department or School of Education. If any professor teaching any of the standard courses in the Department of Education of the University of Chicago, whether those courses were in educational psychology, history, economics, sociology, tests and measurements, curriculum, educational administration, methods of teaching the customary secondary school and college subjects, or whatever, were absent, Harold could come into that professor's classroom and there would be no loss to the students. He would teach that course as well, or better, than the professor whose course it was. The same would be true of any course in the normal liberal arts and sciences curriculum at the college level.

Outside of school he is just as versatile. All the ladies in our section of the city call him for advice whenever they are having trouble with their plants or their cats. He has one of the largest and best stamp collections in the Midwest. He is expert on World Wars I and II naval strategy and on the sinking of the Titanic and other seafaring disasters. He is an epicure and a connoisseur of wines. His investments are making money on today's stock market. He is perfectly familiar with classical and modern music and art. He knows the dramas, novels, poems, and essays of every major author from Aeschylus to Camus; he has skittered through more detective stories and trashy novels than I have. He reads eight or ten languages and is probably the only professor in the field of educational philosophy or history who can read impromptu Plato, Quintilian, Erasmus, Da Feltre, Rousseau, and Herbart in their original tongues.

Second, he is the most interesting person I have ever known. This is not just because he has the widest range of knowledge of anybody around but also because he has an inexhaustible fund of amusing and instructive anecdotes and a quick, flashing, pungent wit. His humor can be sunny and genial or sharp, biting, and insulting. When it is the latter people laugh and say that it is just characteristic Dunkelesque humor, but my own view is that at least once in a while he rather enjoys cutting people up or putting them down.

For the last 30 years Harold could be found at 10:15 on any morning and at 3:15 on any afternoon, every day of the week, Monday through Friday, except when he has been out of town, in the Common Room of Judd Hall at the University. From the Common Room you would have heard gales of laughter or, at least, gusts of chuckles, from his colleagues as they surrounded him while he drank his coffee, smoked his ubiquitous Chesterfields, and regaled his audience with entertaining stories from his own experience or his vast reading, with pithy comments on people and events, and with serious or scatological information of a kind that never gets into the *Cyclopedia of Education, Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, or the *Guinness Book of World Records*. We would listen to him and still do listen to him, mesmerized by the flow and playfulness of his wit and intelligence, and requiring a real effort of will to break away and go back to our respective offices and do our work. Newcomers to the Department would marvel at all this. I can remember when Andy Kazamias came to us from Oberlin, he said to me after a couple of months of observing the Dunkel phenomenon in the Common Room, "How can Dunkel spend so much of his time down there in the Common Room?" My answer then, as it would be now, was "Andy, Dunkel can do more work in an hour than you and I can do in a whole day." That is why he has accomplished so much, why he has been one of the most productive scholars of his generation. There is no secret to it: extraordinarily high I.Q., exceedingly rapid mental action, and enormous powers of concentration. And I should add a self-confidence so strong as to permit little of the grit of intellectual timidity to disrupt the smooth whir of his thinking and writing machinery.

Third, Harold is the kindest person I have ever known. I have served on some twenty-five doctoral committees with him and have constantly marveled at how accessible he is to doctoral students, how carefully and minutely he goes through their dissertation drafts, how constructive his suggestions for improvement are, and how considerate he is of their feelings and notions. Many a professor out there would not have his doctor's degree and his appointment to tenure if Harold had not helped and encouraged him. Many a waif wandering around the Department of Education at the University of Chicago, discouraged and rebuffed by nearly every other member of the faculty, has found wise guidance and secure harborage in the Dunkel office and even in the Dunkel home. Of course, as you well know, he is no sentimentalist externally. His manner can be brusque, cynical, and crotchety. But underneath he is a marshmallow. He is exceptionally generous of his time and attention to students and almost miraculously tolerant of their sloth, sloppiness, and superficiality. Towards his faculty colleagues he is just as generous and kind. Regularly they ask him to read their manuscripts and how they may be improved. At the most inconvenient times his friends (and he has more friends than anyone else in the Department of Education) drop by his office and spend hours talking over their latest ideas, plans, and hopes. There in Judd 408 he sits, as massive in body as he is in mind, 6 foot 3 or 4 inches in height, weighing in at some 230 pounds,

peering at them through thick lenses set in black frames, patiently making an effort to salvage what is salvageable in their musings and endeavoring to bring order out of the chaos in their minds. As for myself, though I am here alluding to his professional kindness, I wish to express my own gratitude to him for the very personal kindness he has shown me in brightening up some of the dark days I have experienced in the recent past.

Fourth, to present at last the essential Dunkel vita. He was born in Saginaw, Michigan, where his father was a minister of the local Presbyterian church. A few years later his father received a call to the principal church of that faith in Indianapolis and the family moved to the city. Harold went to the academic high school there, and then, following the example of his brother, he entered the college of the University of Chicago in 1928. He has been here at the University ever since. He earned his bachelor's degree in 1932 and his Ph.D. degree from the Department of Greek in 1937, writing his dissertation on "Panhellenism in Greek Tragedy." After two years in the department as an instructor in Greek (this was in an olden day when a person holding the rank of instructor was of no little status and power on the university scene), he joined up with Ralph Tyler, who had just come to the University as chairman of the Department of Education and was director of God only knows how many projects. Harold became a research associate in Ralph's Cooperative Study of General Education and examiner in Ralph's University of Chicago college board of examinations. Harold also was appointed a member of the Hutchins' college faculty, being the examiner for and an instructor in OII (Observation-Interpretation-Integration), one of the two culminating courses (history of western civilization was the other) in the college curriculum. OII was a course designed, in the words of the college catalog, "to equip the student with the knowledge and intellectual disciplines necessary for a theoretically and practically meaningful 'integration' of the different fields of knowledge which are the subject matter of the other general courses." In language, ideas, and ambitiousness this is a vintage Hutchins' college statement of objectives; as you can readily imagine, OII was a course demanding a faculty of Renaissance men, super-scholars and super-teachers--that is, a faculty consisting of Dunkels. After a few years Ralph Tyler wanted Harold's talents put to full-time use in the Department of Education, and Harold came into the Department, being promoted to associate professor in 1948 and to full professor in 1953. During the years his chief responsibility has been in the special field of educational philosophy, which he shared with Joseph J. Schwab, also an ex-Hutchins' college and ex-OII faculty member. Along the way Harold has been, in addition, the director of pre-collegiate education (meaning administrative head of the University's Nursery School, Laboratory Schools, and Bruno Bettelheim Orthogenic School), an associate director of an investigation of second-language teaching in American elementary and secondary schools sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral

Sciences, and an officer in a number of educational and professional organizations. His books include *General Education in the Humanities* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1947), *An Introduction to Second Language Teaching* (with Frederick B. Agard) (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1948), *French in the Elementary School: Five Years Experience*, with Roger A. Pillet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), *Herbart and Education* (New York: Random House, 1969), and *Herbart and Herbartianism: An Educational Ghost Story* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). He has just now finished off the manuscript of a book entitled *Writ in Water: The Epitaph of Educational Innovation*, dealing with, as I understand it, the ideas and activities of William Torrey Harris, Charles Hubbard Judd, and other assorted stars in the educational firmament at, roughly, the turn of the century. As for Harold's articles, book reviews, and speeches, they would add up, according to my best estimate, to approximately 100 items.

Let us now listen to the 101st.

THE LIVELY EDUCATIONAL JOURNALISTS, 1875-1900

Harold B. Dunkel
University of Chicago

During, very roughly, the last quarter of the nineteenth century a considerable portion of educational journalism took on certain characteristics that permit it to be distinguished from the eras that preceded and that followed it. These journals differ from their predecessors chiefly in their much greater longevity and solvency. They are marked off from those of the subsequent period by their intensely personal quality; they were "shadows of one man," who spoke his mind to the point of libel.

"Education papers" were, of course, no new thing. They had appeared for many decades before. Educators with strong opinions and a pedagogical urge to enlighten others had been starting them for decades. Possibly some hoped for a career in writing and publishing. Some may have hoped for additional income. But one suspects that most of these entrepreneurs would have been happy if their journal had been merely self-supporting. Certainly these sheets may have suspended publication for a variety of causes, but insolvency seems likely to have been the major one. With teachers paid $200-300 a year, asking them to pay one of those precious dollars for an educational paper was asking a great deal. Henry Barnard and William Torry Harris, as is well known, kept their journals going only by pouring their own financial resources into the *American Journal of Education* and the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. In any case, the record Barnard kept of the earlier papers was something of an obituary column, listing journal after journal that succumbed after a volume or two or even an issue or two. But by about 1870 a more hardy set of perennials begins to appear.

At the close of the century, the situation changed again. Educational journalism, like journalism generally, was tending to become more impersonal, more restrained, more "objective." Editors, instead of having to produce most of the copy themselves, retreated to the editorial columns and became more dignified. Newer journals, springing up in connection to university departments of education, sought to be more scholarly. Although there would still be sharply critical articles and forthright editorials, the general tone becomes much more bland and impersonal.

To revert to the beginning of our period, about 1870 a number of factors began to make educational publishing more viable financially. For one thing, the increasing size of the corps of teachers enlarged the potential market. Likewise, the development of state boards of education, state teachers associations, and similar agencies and organizations, seeking official organs, brought subsidies for publishing official announcements, a certain amount of ready-made copy, and

mailing lists of potential subscribers. The technique of making the journal only one of several related enterprises was particularly effective. Combining the journal with a general educational publishing house was very efficient. Books could be serialized in the journal and journal articles could be gathered into books with a single typesetting. The books could advertise and serve as premium offers for the journal, and vice versa. The operation of a teachers' agency was a natural additional which could provide a still wider public and additional financial support. With one or more props of this kind, journals began to survive longer and to become prominent features of the educational scene.

The general group I have in mind can perhaps best be suggested by naming a few examples: George Pliny Brown of Bloomington, Illinois with his Public School Publishing Company and the *Illinois School Journal*, for which he changed the title several times; C. W. Bardeen with his publishing house and his *School Bulletin*; A. E. Winship with the New England Publishing Company and the *New England Journal of Education*; E. O. Vaile of the *Intelligence* of Oak Park, Illinois; and Silas Gillan of the *Western Teacher* in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

All these editors wanted to make their journals into something more than mere house organs or local papers, and by such means as thinking up new titles, for example, they sought to cast a better image. The *Ohio Educational Monthly*, with a change in cover and a wider coverage in its "Miscellany" section, also appeared as the *National Teacher*. Brown went into publishing by acquiring the *Illinois School Journal* but he died as editor of *School and Home Education*, a much more spacious title. The *New England Journal of Education* became simply the *Journal of Education* with the dateline, "Boston and Chicago," when it acquired a correspondent in the latter city. Our editors twitted each others' pretentions in this regard, but none wanted to discourage distant subscribers by appearing too parochial.

Their journalism was highly personal. Not only were they prepared to judge speakers at national meetings, they were equally ready to review the conduct of an association's officers or to discuss at length the feuding and bickerings of powerful individuals and groups within various organizations. Nor did they practice senatorial courtesy. They read each others' papers carefully and knew each others' foibles well. As a result they frequently chided each other for riding to death some hobby (like simplified spelling) or for taking an ill-considered stand on some issue. Whatever their reports of the educational scene may lack in judgment or objectivity, certainly want of candor cannot be charged to them.

Openings like the following one by E. O. Vaile were not uncommon: "Mr. George P. Brown writes us a letter filled with anything but brotherly love in regard to the manner of our announcement of his purchase of the *Illinois School Journal*."[1]

They were not merely ready to tell their readers about their own fights; they tried to keep them informed about feuds they encountered in their own reading. Thus William A. Bell of the *Indiana School Journal* reports:

> It is unpleasant to see the fierce war (of words) that is being waged between T. W. Bicknell, editor and proprietor of the *National Journal of Education*, and A. M. Kellogg, editor and proprietor of the *New York Weekly*. It seems that Mr. Bicknell did not run the National Association at Madison, of which he was President to please Mr. Kellogg, and in a letter to his own paper Mr. Kellogg criticized the management in many particulars. Among other things he accused Mr. Bicknell of manipulating the nominating committee so as to secure his renomination as president and charged further that in order to secure this he promised to decline.[2]

Samuel Findley of the *Ohio Educational Monthly* goes into even greater detail to keep his readers informed of a dust-up in a nearby state. A portion of his account reads as follows:

> Editor George P. Brown, of the *Illinois School Journal*, and Editor E. O. Vaile, of *Intelligence*, do not seem to love each other with a very intense love; at least, they do not speak of each other in strong terms of endearment.
>
> There is a teachers reading circle in Illinois. The *School Journal* is, in some sense, the organ of the management, and *Intelligence* is not. Mr. Vaile made an effort to secure the adoption of one of his publications, the *Week's Current*, as a part of the reading course, but was unsuccessful. He attacks the Management of the Reading Circle; Mr. Brown comes to the defense of the Management; "and that's the way the fuss began." The verbal missiles fly thick and fast. Vaile thinks he understands Brown's motives. He (Brown) was once a traveling agent for a book firm, and was treated "handsomely" by his "house," etc., etc. His partiality for his old "house" is very manifest in that he editorially puffed one of their publications as the very perfection of a text-book, when in fact it is a "horrible book," "the most abominable piece of text book work." Moreover, Brown's "dreary, oppressively profound 'Outlines and Suggestions' upon the Reading Circle work, month by month, serve only to provoke a smile."
>
> Brown's pages bristle with such uncomplimentary insinuations as, "a dismal failure in everything he has undertaken," "crowded out or kicked out of every position he ever filled," "acquired the reputation of a common scold," "warmed in the bosom of some sympathizing friend, only to sting him when assistance was no longer needed."[3]

Needless to remark, this was a lively and outspoken clan.

They energetically publicized the educational meetings at all levels from the local to the national and attended them themselves. What's more, they reviewed the proceedings extensively for the benefit of their readers who were unable to attend. Their comments were, to say the least, outspoken. If they were prepared to acclaim certain presentations as "strong," "balanced," "practical," or "philosophic," they were equally ready to characterize others as "weak," "poor," or "disappointing." They were quick to point out speakers who were "ill-prepared," and the vials of their wrath were poured out on those who, without a good excuse, did not appear as scheduled, such as John Dewey.[4] In short, for such meetings as the annual session of the NEA we have a dozen or more critical reviews of the speeches, the presiding officers, the accommodations, the banquets, and all the other details.

The great controversy at the NEA meeting of 1895 when the Herbartians under the leadership of Charles DeGarmo attempted to take W. T. Harris and the rest of the Committee of Fifteen to task for ignoring their use of "correlation" called forth some of the better efforts of the journalistic fraternity. Thus Gillan in the *Western Teacher* was graphic as well as poetic: "Numerically the odds were decidedly against Harris, but when the smoke cleared away he was still in sight while the condition of the others reminded one of Col. John Hay's description of the results of a fracas in Taggart's Hall--

> They piled the stiffs outside the door;
> They made, I reckon, a cord or more.[5]

A. E. Marble reported for the *Journal of Education*: "After this little educational Salvation Army had paraded, the doctor took the platform, and he left the opposition, as he always does, in the plight of the boy who had tickled a mule's heels with straws, and whose father remarked to him later, that he would never again look so well as he had before, but that he would *know more*-"[6] C. W. Bardeen commented in his *School Bulletin*, "They must have a new appreciation of the slangy aptness of the phrase that attempts to dissuade the tyro from monkeying with a buzz-saw."[7]

Our editors were capable of quite vicious personal vignettes:

> Then Colonel Parker's turn came. It is a pleasure to say that he did not once close his eyes and go into one of his inspired rapsodies in which he so often manages to get off such a deal of infinite nothing.[8]

Or for another example: "It was comical to see the philosophers, school-child like, trying to recall something which too long ago they had learned in Germany, while the chairman, as a sort of past grand master, injected remarks now and then as between the two sides, which

forcibly suggested that it had been so long since he was coached abroad that he had forgotten more about both Hegel *and Herbart than he ever knew."*[9]

Nor did they attend these meetings simply as reporters. They addressed them, were members of important committees, and served as officers. Our men were seen by the profession, not as practitioners of some alien craft like reporting or publishing whose concerns were tangential to education, but as educators among educators. Certainly many of them were undeniably that. For example, Brown, as a former superintendent of the Indianapolis schools and a former president of Indiana State Normal, had as good claim to the title as anyone, and Bardeen, in addition to a very popular educational novel, also wrote both books for teachers and class-room texts.

But chronicling the actual meetings was only part of their story. For the larger meetings such as those of the NEA, the railroad gave special rates to those attending, and the possibility of such concession by the local railroads was an important factor in deciding upon the convention sites. As a result, meeting time would find several carfulls of educators leaving Chicago for Atlantic City or leaving Boston for Denver. Almost invariably our publishers were on board, and their accounts of those to whom they talked and what they talked about are valuable records of who and what were the important educational items of the time. From these conversations, on the one hand, our editors learned the hot issues on which they should comment and the sorts of articles and books they should seek; on the other it gave them the opportunity to press their personal views on the most active educators (be they professors, superintendents, administrators, or classroom teachers) who were the "opinion-formers" of the profession.

They were a noisy and skeptical breed. They kept in close touch with what was being written, said, and done in schooling at all levels; yet they had a certain psychological distance since their reputations were not bound up with the success of any particular cause. They were acquainted, not only with the educational "leaders," but with the more active of the rank and file. They were finely tuned into the power struggles and in-fightings going on in the various organizations. Knowing where the bodies were buried, they were quite willing on occasion to hold an exhumation, not in the dead of the night but at high noon on their front pages.

In their quickness to suspect evil and their alacrity in denouncing it, they did not spare even those figures whom they usually praised and admired. Nicholas Murray Butler copyrighted the reports of the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Fifteen with the intention, he claimed, of providing some income for the NEA through the sale of these documents which were certain to be of the greatest popular interest. But when his *Educational Review* turned up as the holder of the copyright and other editors were threatened with suit if they

reprinted in their journals,[10] the fraternity was quick to scream "Foul!" Winship in his *Journal of Education* probably offers the best summary of the situation:

> It is an open secret that the educational press was not wholly satisfied with its treatment at the hands of the president of the N.E.A. in connection with the Denver meeting and of the department of superintendents at the Cleveland meeting. This had nothing to do with the personal insults offered the editor of this JOURNAL, who has never asked for sympathy or support, but endeavored to do his own sparring in a manly way, and thoroughly enjoyed the editorial athletics of the season. .
>
> . . . .
>
> The official bulletin of the N.E.A., always an insult to the educational press, was more so than ever this year. Added to this were several officiously offensive remarks that were supposed to depose the educational press from any position it might have attained in the past.
>
> Like all other vicious methods, it overreached itself, and for the first time solidified the educational press, which has suffered in the past from temptation to jealousy. What the editors and publishers have sought in vain to do for ten years was done for them in a single season, and today the papers are a unit in their general sentiment.[11]

Similarly, when word got out that G. Stanley Hall was asking and receiving honoraria for addressing state educational meetings, cries went up that one educator should not charge for speaking to his fellow educators on professional matters. Hall's explanation that he was not doing it for personal profit but that he had gone on the circuit only to get funds to equip Clark University's laboratory in experimental psychology was not usually accepted as sufficient justification.[12]

Even W. T. Harris, who was usually given only the highest of encomia, was the object of editorial flack if members of the fraternity thought he deserved it. For example, on two occasions, S. V. Gillan of the *Western Teacher* let fly:

> It was a matter of chagrin to his best friends that at the recent meeting of the superintendents at Milwaukee, Dr. W. T. Harris permitted the use of his name and portrait in such an unblushing manner for commercial advertising. A big picture of Harris was displayed in a gaudy frame on the very platform from which he spoke, and that the advertisement might be "rubbed in good and hard" it was carried into the dining room where a banquet was served to an elect 200 and again put on exhibition--all this to promote the sale of copies of this picture at a dollar apiece. Postal

"souvenir cards" were also distributed bearing a reduced facsimile of the portrait. One could not but admire the business sagacity of the publisher who devised and worked this advertising scheme; and who could blame him when he found Harris such an easy mark?[13]

The second attack on Harris ran as follows:

> Commissioner Harris and F. B. Sanborn have written a book on Bronson Alcott. The strange hallucinations of mind that sometime affect even great men are exemplified in the estimates Dr. Harris makes of Mr. Alcott. The subject of the biography is represented as a great philosopher and inspired seer--inspired in the literal supernatural sense. Those who knew Mr. Alcott as a crank who taught that the use of all animal food, including eggs, cheese, milk and butter, tend to pollute the soul and who was opposed to the use of rice and molasses on the ground that they were foreign luxuries, will wish that Dr. Harris had refrained from writing at least the most extravagant parts of the biography.[14]

Popular movements that struck the editors as pretentious were especially likely to draw their fire. In 1898 Vaile of the *Intelligence* asked himself whether the child-study movement was a fad, a fake, or a fashion and found some grounds for considering it all three.[15] Gillan of the *Western Teacher* heartily endorsed this view, as might be expected. For a few months earlier he had suggested that Mark Twain's *Following the Equator* was not the funniest book of the year but that that honor belonged to the "Handbook of the Wisconsin Child Study Section of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association." No one could write a book like that and not be fooling, Gillan insisted; readers, misled by the book's deadpan style, had simply failed to recognize it as a distinguished contribution to American humor.[16]

Froebel's mystical musings, especially as they were sometimes embellished by the purple prose of the kindergarten ladies, were another favorite target:

> The *Schoolmaster* honors Froebel and his work, and likewise the people who have exalted him. Now why can they not lay aside their ascension robes, approach us in our mother tongue, and within the limits of our mother wit, and not make us common teachers feel that we belong to an inferior race of beings when we are in the presence of a "genuine" kindergartner?[17]

Relations between author and publisher were close in many ways. For example, many of the prominent educators were busily engaged in "institute work." In fact, those who were prepared to put up with the long work-week and the grime and boredom of train travel could conduct an institute somewhere every weekend during the school year. But the fee for the institute was only part of the prerequisites. Charles McMurry, for example, always had a trunk of his own books available.

An institute at which he sold only twenty dollars' worth was something of a failure whereas $40-50 was more what he expected and achieved in sales.[18] To have the right number of the right books on hand at the right time and the right place was something for which he had to depend on his publisher, George Brown, with mistakes and mistimings involving financial loss for them both. But active conductors of institutes and reading circles could equally well push books not their own, and a close working relation between any such educator and a publishing house worked to their mutual profit: the institute director could be assured of the sort of materials he wanted and a commission from their sale while the publisher acquired an itinerant sales representative. Proper coordination demanded a cooperation which kept author and publisher in close touch.

The successful editors knew what their subscribers wanted, and within limits they undertook to provide it--stuff teachers considered practical. The great demand was for materials which could be taken directly into the classroom by teachers who were not very well trained and who sorely needed help--lesson plans and examination questions for various subjects at various levels; materials for programs for special occasions like the national and religious holidays; and explanations of matters that might puzzle teachers as well as students such as certain tricky problems in compound interest or such topics as the origin and operation of the international dateline.

But frequently the publishers sought to do more for teachers than to give them materials for their daily round in the schoolroom. Through articles on such topics as British and American authors (to say nothing of Dante and Goethe), explanations of current scientific theories and findings, and expositions of educational doctrines, they tried to give their readers some of that general education which the average American teacher of the time lacked. These efforts were not always well received, and some subscribers protested that this space would better be devoted to practical helps. But the pedagogical urge was strong in our editors, and they continued to print as much broadly educative material as they felt the traffic would bear.[19]

How influential was the educational press? Winship, writing in his *Journal of Education* was quite prepared to make some claims for the education press as an enterprise:

> The educational press, with all its limitations, has a larger circulation than the religious press, the medical and legal press combined, all the distinctive trade journals combined, and probably larger than the agricultural press. It is as influential as any other feature of specialized journalism. It has done more than any other agency to bring teaching up to its present semi-professional position. It has been as active in the matter of methods and devices as has the agricultural press. It has been the principal medium for the advancement of better methods of teaching. It has contributed largely to the success of summer

> schools and teachers' bureaus–the two great agencies for professionalizing the appreciations of teachers. It has been chiefly instrumental in securing the wide reading of strictly professional books.[20]

Its editors and publishers as individuals should also have been influential. "Influence" is elusive in definition and, even if defined, still harder to demonstrate. But as one looks at the members of this group and their activities, that they were personally influential appears at least a likely hypothesis. They were all knowledgeable and some of them were fairly learned. Their opinions were respected, if not always accepted. To a degree, they controlled educational communication. They provided important channels of publication for various individuals and groups. It is hard, for example, to think of American Herbartianism without the Public School Publishing Company, for Brown printed volume after volume for Charles, Frank, and Lida Brown McMurry. They could probably have found publication elsewhere, but a friendly publisher close at hand was undoubtedly a boon. Each of our editors was in close personal touch with scores of members of the profession and reached hundreds more weekly or monthly though his journal and often also his teachers' agency. As a contemporary biographer commented, "Everybody in the East knows Bardeen."[21] In sum, it would be nothing short of astonishing if they did not exert considerable influence. They did not, to be sure, gather such devoted bands of followers as did, for example, Harris and Hall, in part because usually they were not personally sponsoring some popular educational movement or doctrine. Yet they were far from being faceless and supine recorders of the opinions of others and should have had some effect on professional opinions even if we have difficulty in discerning it at this distance.

NOTES

1 *Intelligence* 6 (1886) 194

2 *Indiana School Journal* 29 (1884): 685

3 *Ohio Educational Monthly* 38 (1889): 178

4 *Journal of Education* 39 (1894): 152; *Intelligence* 18 (1898): 205

5 *Western Teacher* 3 (1895): 233-34

6 *Journal of Education* 41 (1895): 247-48

7 *School Bulletin* 21 (1895): 107

[8] *Intelligence* 15 (1895): 65

[9] *Intelligence* 11 (1891): 201

[10] *Journal of Education* 41,(1895): 30, 180, 234

[11] *Journal of Education* 42 (1896): 281

[12] *Intelligence* 14 (1894): 1, 14

[13] *Western Teacher* 13 (1905): 281-82

[14] *Western Teacher* 2 (1894): 281

[15] *Intelligence* 18 (1898): 439

[16] *Western Teacher* 6 (1897): 271-72

[17] *Schoolmaster* 1 (1881): 5

[18] Diary for 29 December, 1895 to 31 January, 1897, passim. ("Charles A. McMurry Papers," Archives of Northern Illinois University.)

[19] *Education* 2 (1882): 308-9; *Intelligence* 8 (1888): 276

[20] *Journal of Education* 42 (1896): 181

[21] *School Bulletin* 21 (1895): 155

PART III

THE URBAN SUPERINTENDENCY AND THE DEPRESSION: THE CASE OF THOMAS WARRINGTON GOSLING, AKRON, OHIO: 1928-1934

by

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Introduction

In 1925, Akron's tire and rubber companies began production of the new balloon tires for automobiles, and the employment rolls steadily increased to about 70,000 once again. These were good times for Akron. Everybody was making money and construction flourished. The city built a new North Hill Viaduct[1] and a new sewage plant at Botzum. A New YWCA and a new YMCA were built. By the late 1920's, Polsky's and O'Neil's had constructed two modern department store buildings on South Main Street. The present City Hall building was constructed. The Loew's Theater (later the Civic) was lavishly constructed at a cost of $2,000,000.[2]

By 1929, all the major tire and rubber companies had tripled their 1919 production of tires. The rubber companies, earning money during the boom period, had been investing it back into the company in the form of labor saving devices; machines. Although production had increased three fold, it had been accomplished with fewer employees. The employment rolls of the rubber companies had declined from the previous 70,000 men to approximately 52,000 by 1929. This decrease in jobs at the rubber companies did not seem to affect the overall population of the city. In fact, public school enrollment increased steadily throughout the twenties. The future for the remainder of the decade looked very rosey.

A stranger visiting Akron for the first time in the summer of 1930 would probably have felt the city to be a very prosperous one indeed. New bridges, new buildings, and new theaters all provided evidence of the supposed prosperity. If, however, the new visitor was to talk with a banker, he would have quickly learned that the appearance of prosperity was false. Appearances notwithstanding, Akron was in deep

financial trouble. But not all bankers agreed that the trouble was very serious. Several felt it to be simply a natural economic readjustment of the excesses of the twenties. Businessmen were saying, "All that needs to be done is to show the fighting spirit."[3] The consensus was to have salesmen renew their efforts, sell more, and thereby keep the money moving.

The confident predictions neither came true nor stemmed the tide of the economic disaster of 1929. In 1930 alone, a total of 14,200 employees in Akron were discharged. This amounted to 21½ percent of the total work force in Akron.

Akron area banks had to close their doors. Several went out of business altogether, while other banks were able to borrow heavily from the major rubber companies to remain solvent.

Morale in Akron was at its lowest ebb in 1933 when Franklin D. Roosevelt took office as President. Federal monies began to reach Akron in the form of Civilian Works Administration (CWA) and Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) funds. By 1933, the federal government had spent $3.8 million in Summit County; by 1934, this figure had risen to $6.5 million.

By 1925, things were going well in the Akron Public Schools. Enrollment was increasing and the schools were in the national spot light due to their successful implementation of the platoon system.

Schools, however, were not the only factor which brought national attention to Akron in 1925. The Akron Chapter of The Ku Klux Klan, powerful in Akron since 1923, became very influential on a national level in 1925. National Klan membership was at its peak with over 5,000,000 members. The Akron Klan had the world's largest chapter membership at that time.[5] The Klan was able to get a majority of Klan members or supporters elected to the Akron Board of Education between 1923 and 1928. The Klan-dominated board hired George McCord as Superintendent of Schools in 1925. He was a known Klan sympathizer, if not a member, and had been fired for his Klan activities in Springfield, Ohio.

The board also hired Ralph Waterhouse as Assistant Superintendent to work under McCord. Waterhouse was not connected with the Klan but, nevertheless, appeared to work well with the new superintendent until the very end of McCord's tenure.

The November elections in 1927 saw an anti-Klan majority elected to the Board of Education. One of the new board's first steps, after its members took office in January of 1928, was to informally notify George McCord that he would not be rehired as Superintendent when his contract ran out at the end of June. Such were the politics and economic background as the Akron Board of Education began its search for a new superintendent.

The Early Years, 1928-29

The Akron Board of Education, have informally in January notified McCord that he would not be rehired, began the search for a new superintendent.

At a convention in Boston, several men were screened and interviewed by those board members in attendance. This was a very informal procedure as the board was simply putting out "feelers" to ascertain interest in the Akron job. Applications poured into Akron and in a short time, there were over fifty people interested in the job.

Board President Robert Guinther and board member Roy Reifsnider went on an extended trip to interview the candidates who had made application to the Akron Board for the superintendency. Upon their return and after consultation with the Board, they narrowed the list of candidates to five men.

On April 4, 1928, the front page headlines in the Akron Beacon Journal read, "NEW AKRON SCHOOL HEAD NAMES." Board members Grant Hyde and George Sherman had been sent to Madison, Wisconsin, to offer the superintendency to T. W. Gosling. The contract was for five years at $10,000 per year. The Board had been unanimous in their choice and Dr. Gosling accepted this office. The very next day, an Akron editorial urged the citizens of Akron to forget the strife of the McCord era and support and work with the new Superintendent.[6]

Gosling was a native of Ohio; born in Cincinnati, he received his elementary and high school education there. Gosling received his A.B. and M.A. from Yale University and returned to Cincinnati to take his Ph.D. at the University of Cincinnati. Dr. Gosling taught English in Cincinnati at Hughes High and later served as President of the National Council of Teachers of English. He was also an elementary and secondary principal in Cincinnati before going to the Wisconsin State Department of Education where he held the position of State High School Inspector for three years. From the State Department Gosling moved to the Superintendency of Madison, Wisconsin.

In Madison, Gosling's problem was to draft a school development program that would enable the city to keep pace in terms of educational facilities with its growing population.[7] He directed the construction of several schools. In addition, he established the first city school district Department of Child Guidance and Special Education in the country. Curricula were developed for the crippled, mentally handicapped, and those with speech defects. Probably his most innovative program was the Madison Plan. Dr. Gosling placed outstanding school principals in the position to largely administer affairs in their own buildings with a remarkable degree of freedom and independence. This plan was based on his belief that persons of ability developed their qualities when given responsibilities.[8]

Dr. Gosling also fostered the Parent Teachers Association to promote community understanding. He gave his teaching staff a part in policy making and kept the public well informed through the press and his civic activities. He was director of the Madison YMCA and the Civic Music Association. Gosling was a member of the Board of Industrial Education and the Library Board. He was on the Executive Committee of Neighborhood Housing and on the Council of Public Welfare. Prior to World War I, Gosling had studied special school methods in Germany and England. It was in Europe that he learned about the Junior High Plan which he favored though not necessarily in separate buildings.[9] Gosling held the rank of Captain in the First Ohio Infantry in World War I. He was very active in the Red Cross and was married, with two children. His son, Arthur W. was to graduate from college that June 23. His daughter, Jane Francis, was a sophomore at Central High in Madison.

At the outset, it appeared that Dr. Gosling had several things in his favor that would help him succeed as superintendent. He had a wealth of experience, the Akron press was favorable and it was actively seeking public approval of Gosling. The Board was unanimously behind him and the past political situation had left Akron anticipating brighter days for its schools. The economic situation was flourishing and money was available. With these supporting factors as allies, Gosling came to Akron in July of 1928 to work with 1,200 teachers and 41,000 students toward better education.

Gosling was a tall, sparse figure of a man who carried himself very erect. He had dark hair, lively eyes, a straight nose, and wore glasses which gave him a scholarly air. His lips were thin and generally smiling. His chin was square and he had a quick, easy speech. This was the man that first addressed the Akron Board of Education in its regular public meeting on July 2, 1928.

> Above everything else, I want to give the people and children of Akron the best possible schools . . . The first thing I want to see in the schools is a seat for every child. That is the most important thing in the schools now . . .

Dr. Gosling also stated that he would be guided by the Board's decision no matter what his personal views. The watchwords of his leadership were to be harmony and cooperation.

Gosling, in effect, had presented to the Board what he believed to be the most pressing needs of the system. He would be working toward harmony, cooperation, and a seat for every child. He recommended that the Board adopt his tentative plan for reorganization of the administrative staff. The present members would be retained but their duties would be assigned on a schedule which was more scientific and would promote smoother operation of the schools.[10] His plan of reorganization was unanimously approved by the Board.

The remainder of the summer of 1928 was spent in getting to know the system and making preparations for the 1928-1929 school year. Alterations in the gymnasium wing were made at Crouse Elementary and at McEbright Elementary Schools, movable and adjustable desks were bought for the children at Hill Elementary, and space was rented in the privately owned Goodyear Hall for classrooms. Also during that summer, the proposed 1929 budget was recomended to the Board. It was $4.5 million as compared to the 1928 budget of $4.1 million. Teachers were hired, clerks were hired, texts were purchased, and other school alterations were recommended. All in all, Dr. Gosling had spent his first few months in Akron applying himself to organizing for the coming school year and perfecting the harmony and teamwork in all branches of the school operation that would be necessary to provide the types of atmosphere needed by the children of Akron for their education.

As Gosling had made clear at the first Board meeting, his primary goal for the Akron Public Schools was going to be a "seat for every child." As such, the bulk of the remainder of this paper will deal with the building program and the inescapable financial dealings of his progress toward that goal.

As school opened in September, Gosling succeeded in getting the Board to authorize a $2,800,000 bond levy to be put on the November ballot for the acquisition of school sites, erecting, enlarging, repairing, and furnishing of buildings. Gosling then proceeded to work toward the successful passing of the levy. There had been an increase of 2,645 pupils in 1928 over the 1927 enrollment figures. This was partly accounted for by the annexation of sections adjoining the city and the expansion of kindergartens. Nevertheless, the need for more room and more teachers was obvious. Gosling had visited every school in the city and had noted the crowded conditions. He was especially critical of classrooms in the basements of buildings and as a stop-gap measure recommended the purchase of portables and renting more rooms at the private Goodyear Hall.

By a vote of 47,511 to 16,485, the $2,800,000 bond issue was passed. In light of the successful bond issue, he recommended that the Board purchase seven new school sites, purchase more land adjacent to two existing sites, build three new schools within the next year (64 rooms), purchase eleven new portables, and rent eight more rooms in Goodyear Hall. The recommendation was approved.

The first six months of Gosling's tenure were busy, indeed. He had made strides to accomplish his goals, especially a seat for every child.

The first action of the board in 1929 was to begin searching for property for the new schools. Of $201,500 left from a 1924 bond issue, Gosling recommended that $177,500 be used for purchasing sites, $18,000 for purchasing portables, and $6,000 for new equipment

before the new bonds were released.

January and February of 1929 proved to be busy months with regard to the strides being made toward "a seat for every child." The board started negotiations for a site on Wilbeth Road, west of Arlington Street for a school. A site in the Thomastown area was purchased, although no school was to be built until the situation demanded it. Another site at the corner of La Follette and Coventry Streets consisting of fifty-two separate parcels for $80,000 was under construction. Approximately twenty-nine houses would have to be moved if this site was purchased. Three other sites were also under consideration: on Glenmount Avenue, on Garry Road, and on Copley Road in the Maple Valley area.

The board approved three schools to be built in 1929. One on the Maple Valley site, one on the Garry Road site, and one on the La Follette Street site. The board also approved Gosling's recommended annexation of the Kenmore school system which added about 8,000 students to the Akron system. Also, the Board approved Dr. Gosling's $4.6 million appropriations budget.

In March, April and May, three separate series of bonds were issued on the $2,800,000 voted in the 1928 election. The Maple Valley school, named Schumacher after the Schumacher Mills founder, was to cost approximately $246,000. The Garry Road school was to be named Barber, after the match-maker king from Barberton, Ohio. The La Follette Street school was named Goodrich after the Goodrich Tire and Rubber Company. The three issues were to cover these three schools.

By the end of the 1928-29 school year, Gosling had directed the purchase of seven school sites and construction was approved and under way for three facilities. Pressures were mounting from the West Akron citizens and the North Akron residents, however, for two new high schools in their respective areas. Gosling was against any new high school construction until every elementary child had a seat, but indicated that possibly by 1932, there would be new high schools built.

The overcrowding problem continued and, during the summer of 1929, Gosling recommended three more schools be constructed. Bowing to the pleas and demands of the West and North Akron residents, he recommended a new high school to be built on the West side of Akron to accommodate approximately 1,050 students. This was to be the George Washington High School (later called John R. Buchtel High School). On the North side of Akron, another high school was to be built to house approximately the same number of students. This school was later named North High School. The third school, an elementary, was to be built on the Glenmount site in South Akron. The total cost would be approximately $1.1 million, which, along with the previous expenditures, would leave a balance of $440,000 from the $2,800,000 bond levy.[12] The architect was to begin immediately with

plans for the new schools.

The proposed 1930 budget was also presented to the board in the summer of 1929. It was $774,379 higher than the previous year's budget and totaled $4,526,335. Of this, $2,838,440 was designated for teacher salaries. The increases were rationalized by the fact that pupil enrollment had jumped to 53,800 in one year. Later in the month, however, the budget commission told Gosling he would have to cut his budget, due to increasing financial difficulties across the nation. Gosling was forced to cut in the area of teachers, because the most dramatic effects could be realized on the total budget by reducing salary costs. He only hired about half as many teachers as he had originally planned and felt were needed to keep class sizes down.

With the beginning of the school year in September, 1929, there was still a need for more space. There were thirty-two portables and fourteen rented rooms in Goodyear Hall at this time and Gosling, noting that the two new high schools would use most of the remaining bonds from the past levy, recommended that the board prepare to put another bond issue on the ballot in November of 1930.

In December, Gosling dedicated Schumacher Elementary School as one which expressed the child-centered idea. The building contained the finest library, home economic rooms, gymnasium, auditorium, and classrooms possible. He also used this opportunity to begin campaigning for next year's levy. Akron still had 3,000 elementary students above the kindergarten level attending school on a half-time basis. In addition, citizens in the Glenmount area were asking for their new school to relieve the overcrowding their children were experiencing. The problem was city-wide, however, and the system desperately needed the new bond levy to adequately house the soaring enrollment.

Hard Times, 1930-33

1929, for the schools in Akron, had ended on a positive note, but the financial situation of the nation had received a serious blow. Gosling, too, was beginning to sense an impending financial crisis.

Their first item of business, of course, was the building program for 1930. Retiring Board President Guinther said that the new board would have to seek authorization from the citizens for another bond issue to meet the building needs of the system. Gosling reported that in December, 1929, the school enrollment was 53,751 as compared to 45,068 in December, 1928. The Kenmore and Springfield school systems had been annexed which accounted for a large portion of the increased enrollment. These figures were used as a plea for increased financial support from the citizens.

At the January 13 meeting of the Board, Gosling recommended the adoption of a $5,306,862 appropriations budget. This amount was over half a million dollars more than the prior year's budget, but the size of

the system had increased substantially. The largest part of the budget was the teacher salary fund. Second in size was the debt service incurred with the issuance of bonds voted earlier by the citizens. The remainder of the bonds were to be used for the two new high schools (named Buchtel and North at this meeting) and for two additions: One at Firestone Elementary School and one at Margaret Park Elementary School. Gosling warned the board, however, that the time was coming when they would not have enough money to run the schools. But, he, along with the staff, would find out how to cope with the situation and would keep the board informed.

One month later, Gosling changed plans and recommended that instead of an addition at Firestone Elementary School, the board should construct a new school on the Glenmount site named Voris. He planned to model the school after the recently constructed Schumacher and Barber schools. The board approved. Also, in February, Ellet and Windermere school systems were annexed by the board, which added approximately 1,000 students to the Akron system.

Mr. Konarski, the school architect, presented the plans for the two new high schools to Gosling and the board. Gosling then proceeded with the letting of contracts on both school plants. In addition, Gosling recommended that the board purchase land for a new Kenmore High School to be built within the next two or three years.

The system was going to experience difficulties due to three factors:

1. annexing other schools
2. delinquent taxes
3. tax duplicate uncertainty.[13]

Gosling notified the board that they had better enter a period of retrenchment and curtailment, rather than proceed with an extension of new activities.

Enrollment increased to 57,625 by the end of the 1929-30 school year and, in the proposed budget, this was seen as an increase in needed monies. Gosling recommended $5.6 million. The budget carried a $40,455 deficit, but Gosling felt that the difference could be made up by a combination of savings during the remainder of 1930 and appropriations from the 1931 contingency fund. The increase was a result of enlarged staff, new schools, and the enormous bond debt. He recommended that a new bond issue not be put on the ballot in November, 1930, because the board would desperately need renewal of an operating levy in November, 1931, which would become effective in 1932. The board accepted Gosling's recommendation.

Gosling proposed how he planned to cut $43,000 from the budget on July 28, 1930. First, he would increase the teacher-pupil ratios. Secondly, he would not open the new Buchtel High until the 1931-32 school year. Lastly, he asked for authorization from the board to make

whatever other economic savings he saw fit.

In September when school commenced, Gosling cut sixty-nine elementary teachers in his staff reorganization. He had saved $73,500. In addition, some supervisory positions were dropped and this boosted the savings to $77,100. These savings made it possible to complete the year without salary cuts.

Gosling had succeeded in putting all students, grades one through twelve, on a full-time schedule by October, 1930. This was a result of increasing the pupil-teacher ratios and of having added the new facilities. Financially, 1930 ended in the black for the Akron schools, but Gosling was quick to warn that 1931 would be more difficult.

The Fairlawn schools and Mt. Hope, of the Portage Schools, were annexed early in 1931, but Gosling recommended that the board not take Tallmadge yet because it was too late to receive the tax money from the Tallmadge district. Without that tax money, Akron would have to pay approximately $30,000 to operate these new schools.

By March, 1931, the tax shortage was at the crisis level. Gosling warned that the schools might have to close due to lack of funds. It was a condition that was due to the overall economic situation and nothing could be done about it.

On a lighter note, Gosling dedicated the new Voris Elementary School which helped to reduce the serious overcrowding at Firestone Elementary. Ten days later, however, Gosling stated that everyone in the system might face a two week loss of pay as the schools tried to make up a $500,000 shortage that was expected in the next tax collection.

Three serious conditions faced the board in May, 1931. First of all was the depression itself. Secondly, as a result of the depression, there was great uncertainty about the tax laws and thirdly, was the issue of changing real estate appraisals. All of these factors made it impossible for the board to know how much money to expect from its milage. The prospect was for decreasing returns on the voted mileage so Gosling appealed to the state legislature to pass legislation enabling the schools to vote additional taxes outside the fifteen mill limit. The legislature did not act on Gosling's appeal.

The proposed 1932 budget was sent to the board in June of 1931. Gosling noted that he only asked for necessities. It was $225,000 less than the 1931 budget. Gosling indicated that the board could expect a dark year ahead because the legislature had not made adequate provisions for financing the public schools.

In a meeting with the taxing officials of the city in August, Gosling told the county auditor that the board could not reduce the budget

another cent without seriously crippling school operations. In return, the auditor warned Gosling that the psychological effects of a November renewal levy would probably result in its defeat. Gosling, feeling that the schools belonged to the people, refused to remove the levy from the ballot.

The same three problems continued to affect the schools. The financial and industrial depression, the radical changes in state tax laws, and the reappraisal of real estate values upon which the tax rates were based made 1931 a serious year and 1932 appeared as if it was going to be even more serious. The 1932 revenues would be even lower than the 1931 revenues. For these reasons, it was essential that renewal of the operating levy be passed in November. Failure would mean that the schools could only remain open for five months, rather than the usual ten.

In October, Gosling notified all principals that the schools might be closed for the entire month of December. If so, it would be a payless holiday. If the board decided to take that step, it could take care of most of the budget deficit and enable the schools to open in January, 1932, in the black. This early notification would enable the teachers to plan their personal budgets accordingly. By a margin of only 3,127 votes, the renewal of the five mill operating levy passed, even in the middle of the depression.

The financial squeeze was still serious and, by December, in a report to the board, Gosling recommended his own salary be cut to $5,000 per year. He had already taken a previous cut to $5,800. In addition, he recommended that East High School go to split sessions. Their enrollment was 1,882, while their capacity was only 1,234. Due to the depression, no new buildings could be built to relieve the situation.

The taxes usually collected in December, 1931, had been postponed until February, 1932. This being the case, the board only had enough money to meet its teacher payroll until January 15, 1932. The board had three choices: (1) borrow on anticipated receipts, (2) not pay teachers, or (3) close. Gosling recommended that the schools be closed until January 18, 1932. Even so, the board would start the new year with a $482,000 deficit and a need to borrow $350,000 as soon as they opened. As a gapstop measure, the county auditor agreed to accept early tax payments. As the schools closed for Christmas vacation, Buchtel, North and Voris had been opened, but the outlook was bleak.

As 1932 began, Akron annexed the Tallmadge Schools that Gosling had refused a year earlier. This caused the addition of 1,200 students, but Gosling was not able to hire any new teachers due to the serious economic situation. Over $1,500,000 had been cut from the Akron tax bills for 1932. This would require a second ten percent slash in the budget to make up for the lost revenue.

It was not until the Goodyear and Firestone companies voluntarily paid their taxes early, that Gosling was sure that the schools could open on schedule. He recommended that the schools then stay open as long as there was money to meet expenses. He indicated to the board that they would need to cut approximately $1,000,000 from their previously approved budget to operate through the entire year. In order to make those savings, he would reduce services, personnel, and salaries.

In preparing for the impending cuts, Gosling was anticipating a fifteen to forty percent delinquency in the tax collections (previous delinquencies were 4½ percent in 1930 and 10 percent in 1931) so he prepared two budgets for the board's consideration.

The first budget amounted to a million dollars worth of necessary cuts, while the second amounted to almost two million. He personally thought that a $1,100,000 cut was in order for the remainder of the 1931-32 school year, rather than to wait until the beginning of the 1932-33 school year. As eighty percent of the budget was in instructional costs or teacher salaries, he recommended a ten percent cut in that area though teachers had already taken a ten percent cut earlier. Other cuts approved by the board included:

1. Only employ a school dentist while the schools were in session.
2. Discontinue the Continuation School.
3. Discontinue the field workers and attendance officer positions.
4. Discontinue the Open Window Classes.
5. Discontinue the film service.
6. Discontinue the kindergarten at the close of the year.
7. Put first grade back on part time next year.
8. Cut back the Hower Trade School.
9. Discontinue supervision of summer playgrounds.
10. Reduce heavily art, home economics, industrial arts, music, and physical education.
11. Give the superintendent authority to cut in other areas.
12. Reduce the superintendent's salary in proportion to teacher salary cuts.[14]

A total of ninety teachers were cut from the staff and the remaining teachers received a ten percent pay cut which saved approximately one million dollars. Even with the deficit absorbed, Gosling could not guarantee a full nine month year due to the increasing tax delinquency problem. It should be noted that the ten percent (now, really a total of twenty percent) pay cut was on a monthly basis, rather than on the yearly salary. In fact, contracts were monthly in nature.

Gosling had to drop the leases for the rooms rented at the private Goodyear Hall. By doing so, he realized a savings of $5,000. In hopes of saving more, he sent Waterhouse and Mr. Hatton, a high school principal, to Chicago to discuss with the North Central Association, ways of saving money at the high school level.[15]

These steps did not preclude the upcoming crisis. Gosling could see that funds to meet the March 24th payroll would not be avilable. In addition, a large interest payment on the bond debt would be due. The board decided to borrow on the April taxes and repay the loan on July 1, 1932, as the clerk had assured them they would have the money then. The county auditor, however, refused to let Akron borrow on the April tax collections, as he was unsure how much would be delinquent. The amount involved was $132,000. Two days after Akron's first payless payday, the auditor advanced the $132,000, but Gosling recommended that the board use it to pay the bond debt rather than the teachers.

During the summer months of 1932, Gosling cut sixty-four staff positions which he hoped would save about $30,000 in 1931-32. The remaining staff would continue to receive twenty percent less than their contracted pay on a monthly basis. All cuts mentioned earlier were to remain or take effect with the opening of school in September, 1932.

School opened on schedule on September 12, 1932, and ran at a reduced level until December, when the teachers again were notified of salary payment problems. The salary for January could be paid in full (at twenty percent reduction), but from January to March, only half pay would be available. The December, 1932, tax collections had been postponed to March, 1933, but the board borrowed $300,000 on it to meet salaries and bond indebtedness. The schools had suffered a great deal in 1932, but still had closed its books in the black.

Rather than accept full pay in January, the teachers asked for only half pay so that the money could be stretched. At this point, the board had not taken a loan from the tax collections or received money from the STRS. On the twenty-seventh, the teachers received half pay. The other half would not be paid until after the March tax collections. The teachers received full pay for the first two weeks in February, but then half pay again until March.

In March, the county auditor offered to give the schools script for their share of the tax collections. The board agreed because the salaries could be paid in script, but the bond interest had to be paid in cash. Even so, the teachers were paid in full, in cash. To finish the school year, the schools would still need $1,000,000. They had $530,000 for operating and $355,000 for salaries. To help, the STRS finally loaned Akron $250,000.

The schools closed in early May with the board owing Akron teachers six weeks of back pay. The overflowing enrollment problems especially at East High School and South High School forced Gosling into seeking Federal monies to build additions onto these two facilities. Although there was no money available, supplies were ordered during the summer in hopes of beating price increases. In June, the county auditor advanced tax monies again, but none of it went to the teachers as bond interest was due. Gosling's goal for the summer was simply to

get the schools open in September, 1933, with whatever monies the public had available.

The operating deficit for the 1932-33 school year was $476,000. No deficit was anticipated in 1934 in view of expected state relief. If sufficient relief came, the schools could open in the clear in September, 1933 and run all school year if a full tax was collected. Gosling relied on the state relief and favor-tax collections to the point of recommending a proposed 1934 budget that was $465,000 over the previous budget.

Tax collections began to increase and by August, three million dollars had been taken in. The schools' share of this amount enabled them to pay all six weeks of back pay due the teachers. Now the board was able to start the new 1933-34 school year clear as far as teachers' salaries were concerned.

The money situation worsened as September progressed. Gosling noted that the taxpayers had not continued to pay their taxes and that he may have to close the schools on November 1 because there was no money to pay electric bills.[16]

On October 10, 1933, Akron teachers were paid in script for the first time. The Board had put off the decision to pay for a week, but finally decided to pay script rather than close. For the remainder of 1933, Akron teachers were paid partially in cash and the rest in script. Arrangements were made with the downtown merchants so that teachers could use the script as if it were money.

Resignation, 1934

The first January payroll would be met with $40 of script and the rest in cash. The second January payroll would only contain $20 in script. The board adopted the appropriations budget for 1934 which amounted to $4,163,937. Two-thirds of the budget was again tied up in teacher salaries, bond retirement, and interest funds. The board decided that they would not pay the bonds and interest off unless funds became available.

The Beacon Journal Headlines on Page one, February 7, 1934 read, "DR. GOSLING RESIGNS AKRON SCHOOL POST FOR NATIONAL POST." Gosling had accepted the post of National Director of the Junior Red Cross, on the condition that the board would release him from his contract which had four years to run. The board assured him that they would not stand in his way. His new job would give a substantial increase in salary. Ralph Waterhouse would be named Acting Superintendent until a new superintendent was named.

Gosling felt that the opportunities for education on a national scale were greater in the new position and that it was one of the most challenging positions in the educational field. Although not made

public earlier, Gosling had been considered for the same job two years ago in 1932. He had been interested in the Red Cross for years. The board was unanimous in expressing its regret for Dr. Gosling's departure.

Gosling's resignation became official at the regular board meeting on February 12,1934. In March, word was finally received on Gosling's application of 1933 for Federal Aid. The Civil Works Administration was going to renovate eleven Akron schools. No work had been done on any of Akron's sixty-three schools for three years. At least twenty-nine needed repair work, but funds were available for only eleven immediately.

Dr. Gosling's final appearance before the board was at the regular meeting on March 29, 1934. The Board closed the meeting with the following resolution.

> Whereas, Dr. Thomas W. Gosling has faithfully, diligently, and efficiently served the City of Akron, Ohio, as Superintendent of Schools for the past 6 years, and
> Whereas, he has made valuable contributions to the national field of education, and
> Whereas, he has been called to direct the activities of a youth movement, international in scope, now therefore
>
> Be it Resolved, that the Board of Education of the City of Akron, extended to Dr. Gosling its appreciation of services rendered and wish for him the greatest success and contentment in his new position as National Director of Junior Red Cross activities and
>
> Be it Resolved, that a signed copy of this expression be placed in the hands of Dr. Gosling as a token of our esteem.[17]

When Dr. Gosling left Akron to assume the duties of his new position in Washington, D.C., Waterhouse became the Acting Superintendent. In speaking of Gosling, Waterhouse admired:

> He never sacrifices principles for policies, nor the welfare of the schools for personal advantage. As an educator he ranks with the most brilliant.[18]

Ralph Waterhouse had been with the Akron Board during Gosling's entire tenure as Superintendent. He, of course, was Gosling's assistant and had worked intimately with him during the years of depression and hardship in Akron. He knew Gosling well and had the utmost respect for him as a person and as an excellent public school administrator. It was only after Dr. Gosling's departure that Waterhouse felt it permissible to openly declare his own desire to be considered an applicant for the Akron Superintendency.92

Not only had Waterhouse been an employee of the Akron Board with Gosling, but he had served in one capacity or another for the Board since 1920. Waterhouse had come to Akron at the request of Carroll Reed, then superintendent, in 1920, from Ludlow, Massachusetts. His interest at the time was in vocational training and it was under his guidance that the first Boy Built Home was constructed in Akron. In addition to his vocational duties, he was in charge of attendance for the system.

In 1925, Superintendent Reed left Akron and the Board hired George McCord as the new superintendent. Ralph Waterhouse was promoted to the post of assistant superintendent to McCord, along with Russell Erwine, the other assistant superintendent. When Dr. Gosling came to Akron, along with the Depression, one of the assistant superintendent positions was cut for economic reasons. Waterhouse continued as Gosling's sole assistant.

Waterhouse had an excellent working knowledge of the Akron Public Schools and in May, following Gosling's resignation, the Board voted to hire Waterhouse as the new superintendent.

Waterhouse's personality was practically the opposite of his former boss. While Gosling was often aloof and "standoffish", Waterhouse was not. Over the previous fourteen years with the system, Waterhouse had developed many friendships among the system's staff and community and had enjoyed the fellowship which they afforded. Affectionately, called the "Boss-man", though he enjoyed his staff friends, he wondered, too, if he hadn't reached his present position as much through the help of his friends as through his own determination.[19]

Superintendent Waterhouse still struggled with the same problems that had confronted the Gosling administration, along with a few new ones. It was necessary to continue the partial pay for the teachers. In August, 1934, he wrote the new teacher salary rate. It was eighty-five percent of the basic rate from September 10th to December 19th, and ninety percent of the basic rate from January, 1935 to June, 1935.

Teachers were becoming more concerned and more organized. Toward Akron Local 287 of the American Federation of Teachers, Waterhouse asserted that he would,

> . . . not be guilty of discrimination against teachers or other employees of the Board of Education because of religious, fraternal, professional, occupational, or other affiliation.[20]

Waterhouse began his tenure at the beginning of the recovery from the Depression. Although money was scarce, many of the governmental programs were in full operation and help was also coming from some regretable occurrences in Europe. As the European conflict escalated, Akron's industries, especially the rubber-related ones, began to increase

production. Materials for Europe were much in demand. Materials for the defense of America were in demand. Increased production required additional labor and Akron's industries began hiring in large numbers.

Waterhouse, though of a different mold than Gosling, nevertheless followed along with and continued to implement those policies that had emerged during the Gosling era, until such time that the financial situation for the schools had eased.

Gosling had realized his primary goal of a "seat for every child" by 1930, only two years after he had become superintendent. While his goal was attained, it was a shortlived victory and Gosling had to witness the mission forced upon him, one of keeping the Akron Educational ship afloat, while it floundered in disrepair and economic distress. He was frustrated, but fortunately he was successful.

> If it hadn't been for the haunting other half of the ledger, it is difficult to say what might have been accomplished.[21]

NOTES

[1] The Viaduct, in 1976, is crumbling. Speeds on the bridge have been reduced to twenty-five miles per hour and roads beneath the span have been closed due to pieces of concrete falling from the structure.

[2] Grismer, Karl H. *Akron and Summit County*. Akron, Ohio: Summit County Historical Society, 1952, p. 414.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 449.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 450.

[5] Maples, John Lee. "The Akron, Ohio Ku Klux Plan 1921-1928." Akron, Ohio: The University of Akron, 1974, unpublished thesis, p. 1.

[6] *Akron Beacon Journal*, April 5, 1928, p. 4.

[7] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1928, p. 25.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[10] Speech to the Akron Board of Education on July 2,1928. Reported in the *Akron Beacon Journal*. July 3, 1928, p. 1.

[11] *Board Minutes*, December 17, 1928.

[12] Gosling, Thomas W. *Report to Mrs. Hower*, July 8, 1929 (Hower Collection).

[13] *Ibid.* Letter, May 26, 1930 (Hower Collection).

[14] Akron Beacon Journal, Report, January 18, 1932. (No. 4 on the list--Open Window Classes--were the Akron Public Schools' response to the tuberculosis scare but in essence any child thought to have any health related problem or nutrition problem attended these classes. The community was apprehensive when these students were placed in regular classes and Gosling wisely ran a PR PROGRAM TO ALLEVIATE THE PROBLEM. Lincoln Elementary was the major Open Window School in Akron).

[15] Both Waterhouse and Hatton become Superintendents in Akron.

[16] Ohio Edison Electric Company had, in 1932, given the Board a ten percent reduced rate to help with the financial burdens at the time.

[17] Board Minutes, March 29, 1934.

[18] Klippert, Sally C. *Lengthened Shadows: The Story of the Akron Public Schools*. Akron, Ohio: APS Publication No. 112, 1955, p. 131.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

CONSERVATION AND PROSELYTIZATION: HOW ANCESTRY, RACE, AND RELIGION SHAPED PAROCHIAL EDUCATION IN CAIRO, ILLINOIS

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Public schooling has been traditionally kind to the historian in leaving behind it a trail of happenings chronicled in school board minutes and superintendents' annual reports. These official records have admittedly been biased by the triumphal and self-serving perspective in which they were often written, but they do have the merit of providing a base line against which latter-day researchers can experiment and revise. These latter-day researchers, viewing the official school reports in a different frame of reference than that in which they were originally written, have made some interesting additions to the received view of what happened in American educational history. Occasionally they have even shown that central tendencies in American education were considerably different than had been believed and that the received view needed to be radically revised.

Unfortunately, parochial schooling has not been as kind to the historian as has public schooling. There is no trail of official board minutes or annual reports left by parochial schooling to provide a base line against which the researcher can experiment and offer revision, if necessary. But the parochial school researcher need not fall back on speculation or ecclesiastical policy statements in his or her search for a base line. Instead, such things as convent chronicles, annual reports of convents to motherhouses and other archival material can be used to supply an adequate matrix for interpretation. These materials will usually contain the same triumphal and self-serving biases as their public school counterparts, but they will also be found to provide the same basic starting point for interpretation as the official public school documents.

This study, then, will use convent chronicles, reports to motherhouses and other archival materials to investigate the relationship of ethnic factors in the several Catholic schools of Cairo, Illinois.[1] It will be shown from the use of these materials that a differentiated education occurred in the Cairo Catholic schools based on the factors of ancestry, race and religion.

I

Cairo, Illinois, lying at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, was incorporated by the Illinois territorial legislature in 1818. It

was then only a city on paper and plans for its development came to a standstill in the following year when its leading financial promoter died. In the 1830's the area's commercial potential again captured the interest of financiers and the city was reincorporated. Elaborate plans were laid for a railroad, levees, canals, factories and warehouses. By 1840 Cairo's population had reached one thousand and that figure doubled by the end of the next decade. However, the levees failed to hold back the rampaging rivers from the city's low ground and economic difficulties also slowed the commerical boom. So, by 1850 only 242 people remained in Cairo. However, the linking of Cairo with Chicago through completion of the Illinois Central Railroad in 1854 gave the city a boost and by 1860 the population was back up to 2,188.[2]

During the Civil War, Cairo became a supply center for Grant's army and the city bustled with activity. Before the war Cairo's Black population was negligible, but with the Emancipation the newly freed slaves came north in large numbers and many stayed in Cairo, boosting its population even further. In 1865 the city's population stood at 8,569. Of that number, 6,486 (76%) were White and 2,083 (24%) were Black.[3]

The Black population rose from 24% of the city's population in 1865 to 40% in 1900. During the first decade of the twentieth century the percentage of the Black population dropped slightly and then remained relatively constant at 36% for the next forty years. The total population of the city averaged 14,000 during this time.[4]

The "old" immigration in the latter half of the nineteenth century had accounted for a large influx of Irish and Germans into Cairo. Eastern Europeans in the "new" immigration did come later to work in the coal fields of southern Illinois after the turn of the century, but very few of them settled in Cairo. Cairo's historic population was drawn in descending proportion from people born in Illinois, the Southern and Eastern states, and Ireland and Germany.[5]

Cairo is a southern city, both culturally and geographically. It is on the Missouri Compromise line of 36-30, which is less than forty miles north of the south line of Virginia and Kentucy. The two former slave states of Virginia and Missouri extend north of Cairo by two hundred and three hundred miles, respectively, and three-fourths of the former slave state of Kentucky lies north of it. One has only to travel a few miles south from Cairo to Tennessee in order to reach the old Confederacy.

The first Cairo public school opened in 1853. In 1910 this old school building was still being used, but it was then serving a Black clientele instead of its original White one.[6] John Lansden, the historian of Cairo, described the schooling situation in 1910 in these words:

There has been a steady and wholesome growth in the schools

all the time. The expense of their maintenance has been comparatively large, not to say heavy, especially when the ordinary expenses have had to be increased by large sums required for new buildings. It is well known that the expenditures have been larger because of the fact that the colored people are not possessed of property subject to taxation to such an extent as to meet what would be regarded as their proportionate share of the burden under ordinary circumstances. The white people have had in large measure to maintain schools for both races. The law made it their duty, and it is only simple justice to them to have it said that they have cheerfully borne the burden of the additional expense. If there has ever been any lack upon the part of our boards of education to discharge fully the duties owed by the public to the colored people we do not know when it has occurred. All our citizens have felt that it was a matter of very great importance that all of the children in the city, without distinction of race, should be afforded ample opportunity for securing an education. They have looked upon it as absolutely necessary in any view that might be taken of the needs of the city and the public at large. Under these circumstances, with so large a proportion of colored people in the city, our boards of education have had no easy task to perform. They have endeavored to please, so far as it was in their power, both the white and the colored people, the latter of whom have at times made complaints, but it is believed that in very few cases, if any at all, was there any just ground for dissatisfaction.[7]

The public schools enrolled about 90% of the city's students until about 1940 when the percentage dropped to about 80% for a period of approximately twenty years. Conversely, the parochial schools enrolled 10% of the city's students until 1940 and 20% for the next twenty years. By 1960 the public schools were again enrolling 89% of the city's students.[8]

II

Parochial education began in Cairo in 1864 when the Sisters of Loretto arrived in the city to establish "St. Joseph's Female Seminary of Cairo," commonly known as the Loretto Academy. The land for the Academy--"a plat of swamp land covered with logs when not submerged by the high water"--was donated by the Cairo Land Company, The Company apparently saw this gift as an investment which would enhance the town and help its sales. Thus the Company protected its investment with the proviso that if the Sisters ever sold the property for other than educational purposes, the sum of $200 per lot would have to be paid to the Company or its heirs.[9]

Besides their Female Academy, the Sisters also opened a parochial school for St. Patrick's parish in Cairo in 1864. They subsequently opened a parochial school for St. Joseph's parish in Cairo when it was

founded some years later.[10]

In 1889, the same year that Cairo opened a separate high school for Black students, a Loretto Sister was sent to Cairo specifically to teach "the colored boys in St. Patrick's parish." This Sister opened St. Patrick's Colored School which enrolled sixty pupils in 1890 and thirty pupils in 1891. Tuition was charged for attendance at the school. This school apparently was short-lived, however, since no records exist for it beyond 1891.[11]

The Loretto Sisters survived a siege of smallpox in 1875, yellow fever in 1878 and a fire and flood in 1879. They finally left Cairo in 1903, but perhaps remembering the terms of their land grant, they sold their property to St. Joseph's parish for use as its parochial school.[12]

Catholicism in Cairo was originally organized along nationalistic lines. All of the Irish Catholics attended St. Patrick's Church and all of the German Catholics attended St. Joseph's Church. However, in 1879 Bishop Peter Baltes divided the city into two territorial parishes and made Fifteenth Street the boundary between St. Joseph's, the northern parish, and St. Patrick's, the southern parish. Catholics thenceforth were to attend church based on their geographic residence rather than their ethnic background.[13] However, as one of the former pastors of St. Patrick's said: "In those days there was quite a line of cleavage between the Irish and the German people."[14] Indeed, some parishioners from both parishes continued for decades to attend the church that was historically associated with their nationality rather than to follow the new residential plan for parish affiliation.[15]

In 1903 the pastors of St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's wrote a joint letter to the Mother General of the Sisters of the Holy Cross at Notre Dame, Indiana, asking for replacements for the Loretto Sisters in St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's schools. They asked for two Sisters for St. Patrick's and three Sisters for St. Joseph's.[16] Apparently only two Sisters could be sent and these did not arrive in Cairo until 1905 or 1906. They were hired by St. Patrick's at a salary of $250 per Sister per year.[17] Enrollment at St. Patrick's under this community of Sisters averaged eighty-five students per year for the first half of the twentieth century.[18]

St. Joseph's eventually retained the services of six School Sisters of Notre Dame from their motherhouse in St. Louis in 1908. They apparently received approximately the same salary as the Holy Cross Sisters at St. Patrick's. At least in 1920 they were being compensated at the rate of $275 per Sister per year.[19] Enrollment at St. Joseph's consisted of 145 pupils in 1908. This enrollment rose to a high point of 245 in 1919 and then dropped off, averaging 145 for the next two decades. St. Joseph's school was always the largest of the Cairo parochial schools.[20]

The curriculum at St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's schools was much

the same as that in the Cairo public schools. The parochial schools were distinctive, however, in their emphasis on religious activities. Religious instruction was imparted through daily catechism drill. Additionally, both schools had annual Forty Hours devotions to the Eucharistic Sacrament, Holy Week services, May Processions honoring the Virgin Mary, First Communion exercises, and, biennially, celebration of the Sacrament of Confirmation. Both schools also sponsored religious organizations such as the Altar Boys, the Young Ladies Sodality and the Mission Club.

The religious spirit at both schools was intertwined with ancestral expressions. For example, at St. Patrick's, children in green and gold suits marched in a church procession marking the centenary of the parish, and later in the year performed Irish songs and dances in observance of the patronal feast – St. Patrick's Day. At St. Joseph's, children of German extraction drilled with two German textbooks, one a reader and the other a catechism. This usage indicated a concern not only for preserving the German language, but also for grounding religious teaching in it. Such practice was typical of German-American parochial schools of the time.[21] By way of patriotism, the children of both schools expressed their attachment to America at school assemblies and in religious services. At St. Patrick's, on at least one occasion, a patriotic theme was combined with Irish ancestral background in the context of a religious service.[22] In sum, both past national ancestry and present patriotic spirit were incorporated in the all-pervasive religious ethos of the two parochial schools.

III

St. Joseph's school had a "commercial department" for eight years following its inception. This department prepared students for clerical work. In 1916 St. Joseph's parish opened a high school on the upper floor of its parochial school building. The commercial department then became a track in the high school, along with a college preparatory track. The curricula of both tracks were very similar to those in the local public high schools. The School Sisters of Notre Dame taught in the high school, as well as in the parish grade school. Students from St. Patrick's were also admitted to this high school, making it the first central Catholic high school in the Diocese of Belleville.[23] The original enrollment was fourteen. This enrollment grew to an average of sixty-eight during the 1930's.[24]

The high school graduated its first class in June of 1920. There were five college preparatory graduates and ten commercial graduates.[25]

There was also a Black parochial school in Cairo, as will be described in the next section. However, the central Catholic high school accepted no students from it. The Cairo Catholic schools followed the same segregation policy as the local public schools. The Monsignor who was pastor of St. Joseph's parish and who, like pastors of his time, made educational policy for his school "*in-loco* school board," was as

unprepared as most other White people in Cairo for the challenge which came to the local school segregation policy in 1952. That challenge is described in a January, 1952, entry in the St. Joseph's Convent Chronicle penned by the Sister Principal:

> Because of the unfortunate agitation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, some colored children applied for admission into the white schools. Much distress was caused to white and colored alike by the unfortunate bombings of homes and the burning of fiery crosses and other practices similar to the Ku Klux Klan.
>
> We were not molested in any way, although we had inquiries as to whether we would accept colored children if they applied, and as to whether we would take Protestant children who did not care to sit in the classroom with the Negroes in the public schools. We have never had an application from a Negro. Monsignor says he will handle the situation when it arises.[26]

Although there is no record of a subsequent application to St. Joseph's from a Black student (the Black Catholic students continued to attend the local Black parochial school and then went to the local Black public high school), the fear that the Catholic high school would eventually be integrated resulted in its permanent closure in June of 1952. Public reasons given for the closure were the rising costs of operation and the shortage of teaching Sisters. But the St. Joseph's Principal noted in the 1952 Convent Chronicle: "The argument was used that the Notre Dame Order could not supply enough teachers; the truth was that the town did not supply enough students to keep the teachers there."[27] The reason that the supply of students was inadequate was that many White Catholic parents who had sent their children to St. Joseph's high school began to fear that the school would be integrated. So they sent their children to Catholic schools across the rivers in Charleston, Missouri, and Paducah, Kentucky.[28] This resulted in a drop in enrollment from sixty-eight to forty-five. This small number was then deemed economically infeasible and, with the public explanation noted above, the high school was closed.

IV

During the late Spring of 1928, the Very Rev. Peter Harrington of the Society of African Missions, pastor of St. Augustine Mission in East St. Louis and area superior of his Society, began the organization of a parish for Black people in Cairo. His Society was made up of Irish priests and was devoted not only to missionary work in Africa but also to missionary work among Black people in America. While in East St. Louis, Father Harrington had stated:

> The trend of the Colored infiltration, not only in East St. Louis, but in all cities having a large Negro population, is to move

slowly, but relentlessly, towards better homes in the built-up streets. Hence in locating a Negro Mission it was important to be where they want to be, and eventually will be. As far as Negroes are concerned this trend and tendency may also be classed as a social and economic law. Thus we find that in almost every large Northern City the present Colored Catholic parish occupies the property of a former White Congregation--with church, school, rectory and sisters' house all complete.[29]

The establishment of St. Columba's Mission in Cairo followed this pattern. The property purchased for the Mission was originally built by a White Episcopal congregation and was known as the Church of the Redeemer. When the White congregation moved downtown they gave the church to a Black Episcopal congregation, after removing the organ, altar and bell. The name of the church was changed to "St. Michael Episcopalian Church for Colored." In May of 1928 the Episcopalian Bishop sold the property to the Society of African Missions. Under Catholic auspices the church was again renamed in honor of St. Columba, an Irish missionary monk.[30]

On June 7, 1928, Father Harrington wrote a letter from East St. Louis to the Holy Cross Mother General at Notre Dame after learning of her willingness to provide a staff for a Black parochial school at the Cairo Mission. This letter provides important information concerning why St. Columba's school was established, what the outline of methodology was to be in getting the school started and what kind of philosophy of education the school was to have. The first item in the letter concerned the motive for the establishment of the school. Father Harrington wrote:

> I'm sure, furthermore that the two sisters destined for the colored school in Cairo will do much good missionary work, and what is more, that they will be enthusiastically devoted to it. I have worked on the foreign missions myself--I was four years in Liberia, West Africa--but as you remark in your good letter, why should we neglect those at our own door--where there is a large and fertile field--hundreds of thousands of innocent children who have such little opportunity of a moral or religious training. The only fertile missionary field in America is the colored field; colored people are still peculiarly amenable to the Catholic Apostolate, so why let the opportunity slip by?[31]

After delineating the missionary motivation for the school, Father Harrington went on to offer advice on organizing the Black parochial school in Cairo based on his experience with a similar school in East St. Louis. He said:

> The first year this is how they [the Sisters] went about starting our school here: Every morning they visited a few homes--spoke to the mothers and asked them to send their children to school and to Sunday school. In the afternoon they had very young

children for kindergarten. The first afternoon of kindergarten school there was a hopeful attendance of four children--they had no need to call the roll--but in a few weeks there were about 30 kindergarteners. They also had sewing classes for women and public-school girls, and we got the boys together for catechism, but they took better to baseball. Next September we started a regular grade school--keeping on the kindergarten--but we took only the four lower grades. In that way the children were younger and more plastic, and could take a Christian mould. Since then we have added a grade each year so that this year we're graduating 8 children from 8th grade.[32]

Finally, after noting the active interest that Black parents would have in the school and the relative absence of need for corporal punishment, Father Harrington cited a crucial difference between this kind of missionary school and the ordinary parochial school:

> As you see, at the start it is a little different from the ordinary white school. In the ordinary parochial school the sisters guard and help to increase that faith which is the children's inheritance from generations of ancestors, whereas in a colored mission school they plant the very seeds of faith itself, and then help to develop the tender plant and guard it in spite of home traditions and associations, so that your sisters will be missionaries in the true sense of the word.[33]

In keeping with Father Harrington's missionary orientation, the Holy Cross Mother General asked for volunteers for the school instead of following her usual practice of assigning Sisters without prior consultation. Two Sisters agreed to go to Cairo: Sister Alphonsine McNulty, a southerner, and Sister Alphonso Wilke, a Sister who had originally joined Holy Cross to do foreign mission work.[34]

The school first opened on September 3, 1928, when twenty-eight children registered. Within two weeks the number had reached 102. During the 1930's, enrollment averaged about eighty-five, and in the 1940's the average climbed to one hundred. The actual daily attendance was somewhat seasonal, however, as noted in the 1941-42 annual report:

> More registered when the season for picking cotton was over, so that the average daily attendance for the school year was about one hundred, though, during the last part of May the attendance dropped to eighty-six, because the berry season had opened and a number of the children were obliged to do their share to help support the family. Several children, from the sixth grade up, asked, in about the middle of September, that they might have leave of absence from school to pick cotton--and so earn money to buy suitable clothing for their confirmation which was to take

place in the following month. The permission was granted, but they were urged to study their Catechism, lest, after they took care to deck themselves properly, for the occasion, their souls should not be prepared. Also, there was the understanding that the class work missed would be made up later, after regular school hours.[35]

St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's schools sometimes had as much as ten percent non-Catholic enrollment. St. Columba's had a considerably higher percentage, however, since almost everyone entering this school was a non-Catholic. This rather surprising fact is underscored in a letter of Father Harrington to the Holy Cross Mother General of May 17, 1945: "I well remember the opening of St. Columba's school in the Fall of 1928. There was not then one Catholic child [in the school]."[36] St. Columba's annual report for 1938-39 notes: "Of the one-hundred four pupils who were enrolled at the School at the close of the school year, about seventy-five percent were Catholic converts [converted during their attendance at the school]; the remainder nearly all pupils of the first grade, were non-catholics."[37]

This obviously made for a large number of baptisms during the school year. Just a few months after the school's opening in 1928 there were twenty-one baptisms, producing twenty one "little ebony images of Christ," as one of the Sisters called them.[38]

The same annual activities and events took place in St. Columba's school as happened in St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's schools. But religious activities were even more abundant at St. Columba's than at the other two parochial schools. As one example of this, there were considerably more religious organizations at St. Columba's than at the other two schools.[39] Non-Catholic students at St. Columba's, as well as those who had already become Catholic, were expected to study religion and to attend Sunday Mass "and whatever services all Catholic children are expected to attend." Compliance with these expectations was made a condition for admission to the school.[40]

The pastor and the Sisters at St. Columba's attempted to keep contact with their graduates after the graduates had left St. Columba's and entered the local Black public high school. They did this mainly through religious activities and a study club. Apparently the pastor hoped that he would eventually be able to establish a Black Catholic high school in St. Columba's parish. There is no evidence of his ever having considered the possibility of an integrated central Catholic high school, however.[41]

In 1939 the Mission gave a farewell party for eight former graduates who had completed their high school work and were going on to college. Two were going to St. Xavier's in Louisiana. "The others, though all Catholics and anxious for a Catholic education, were obliged,

for financial reasons, to enter various State colleges."[42]

St. Columba's students received at least as much training in patriotism as did the students of St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's, if not more. During the war years they listened to talks on Washington's Birthday about the blessings of liberty, they bought War Stamps, participated in scrap-metal drives, were enrolled 100% in the Junior Red Cross and earned at least one War Bond.[43]

There was, however, no connection made between this patriotic spirit and the students' ancestral background, as there was, on the other hand, at least at St. Patrick's school. Nor was there ever any attempt at St. Columba's to integrate Catholic religious observances with the students' ancestral backgrounds, as there was at St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's. There was, in fact, little emphasis at all put on the students' ancestral background while they were at St. Columba's.[44]

The Cairo public schools began desegregation in their lower grades after the 1954 holding of *Brown v. Board of Education*.[45] In 1956, Mrs. Flora Chambliss, the wife of a Black physician in Cairo, approached the administration of St. Joseph's school and requested the transfer of her children there from St. Columba's. She was informed that permission for such a transfer would have to be given at the diocesan level. She therefore wrote to the Diocesan Superintendent of Schools and was informed that it was clear from the national situation that some desegregation plan would have to be formulated for the schools of the diocese, and that she should wait until the formulation of such a plan for the transfer of her children. Three years later, in 1959, she was informed by the Diocesan Superintendent's office that her children were then invited to transfer to St. Joseph's as the start of a desegregation plan.[46] The transfer was made without incident, perhaps because of the children's upper class status and their light skins. Several years later, however, rioting occurred among citizens in Cairo when it became known that eleven Black students were going to be enrolled at St. Joseph's school in the Fall of 1962.

St. Columba's school was closed in June of 1963 and its students were transferred to St. Joseph's school, although a number went instead to the public school. The public reason given for the closure was integration:

> When Mother M. Francis Clare opened Saint Columba's mission in 1928, she did so to meet the needs of the times: the education of neglected Negro children south of the Mason-Dixon line. When Mother M. Verda Clare closes Saint Columba's in 1963, it will be with the same spirit of adaptability to the times: the integration of the Negro. . . . Courage to implement the spirit of the church, courage to observe the civil-rights laws of the United States, this has made integration in Cairo, Illinois a "fait accompli."[47]

There were, however, other reasons for the closure which were

economically more compelling. First, financial support for the Mission had been declining over the years. Moreover, there was no prospect for improvement in the future. Second, continued provision of staff for the school was problematic. The then-pastor of St. Columba's was afflicted with some serious personality problems. He used to beat the children with a stick and was unable to get along with the Sister Principal and the other teaching Sisters. This caused a rapid succession of transfers among the Sisters at St. Columba's and an unwillingness on the part of the motherhouse to send further staff to the school.[48] Thus, given the history of Catholic school segregation policy in Cairo and the lack of leadership in altering it, the considerations of financial support and staffing seem more basic to the closure of St. Columba's than the publically indicated reason of integration.

V

In summary, racial segregation was practiced as a policy in the Cairo parochial schools. Even after the public schools moved away from this policy under legal pressure, the Cairo parochial schools continued to practice it. When desegregation eventually did take place in the Cairo parochial schools at both the secondary and elementary levels, it was more the result of economic necessity than the result of any desegregative intent, public statements of parochial officials to the contrary notwithstanding.

St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's schools had strong Irish and German ancestral backgrounds, respectively. These particular backgrounds were used to support the distinctive element of Catholic religion in the schools, and this element in turn supported these backgrounds. In other words, the traits of Catholicism and Irish and German ancestry formed a traditional ethnic fit. Thus, in these schools religion was, as Father Harrington had said, the "faith which is the children's inheritance from generations of ancestors."[49] Therefore the task of parochial education at St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's was essentially one of conservation.

St. Columba's school, on the other hand, had a strong Black ancestral background. But this background was not used to support the distinctive Catholic element in the school and it in turn received no support from that element. In other words, there was no traditional ethnic fit between Catholicism and Black ancestry. Again, this matter was succinctly put by Father Harrington: "in a colored mission school they plant the very seeds of faith itself, and then help to develop the tender plant and guard it *in spite of home traditions and association.*"[50] Thus the task of parochial education at St. Columba's was essentially one of proselytization.

Such is the story of differentiated parochial education in Cairo, Illinois. Perhaps if the education had not been differentiated--that is, if the conservation task, in all its ethnic aspects, had been integral to *all* of the schools from their inception -- the

history. It is, of course, difficult to speculate concerning outcomes on the basis of a hypothetical past.

NOTES

[1] By ethnic factors, I mean here such things as race, religion and national ancestry. This usage follows Milton M. Gordon in *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[2] John M. Lansden, *A History of the City of Cairo, Illinois* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Co., 1910), pp. 18-50 *passim*; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census Reports, 1830-1860.

[3] Herman R. Lantz, *A Community in Search of Itself: A Case History of Cairo, Illinois* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972, p. 27. Lantz notes that these statistics were taken from the Proceedings of the City Council and that they might be inflated.

[4] Specific breakdown of statistics: 1870 = 6,267 total population: 4,418 (70%) White, 1,849 (30%) Black; 1880 = 9,011 total population: 5,661 (63%) White, 3,349 (37%) Black; 1890 = 10,311 total population: 6,486 (64%) White, 3,689 (36%) Black; 1900 = 12,556 total population: 7,563 (60%) White, 5,003 (40%) Black; 1910 = 14,548 total population: 9,114 (63%) White, 5,434 (37%) Black; 1920 = 15,203 total population: 10,190 (67%) White, 5,000 (33%) Black; 1930 = 13,532 total population: 8,948 (66%) White, 4,575 (34%) Black; 1940 = 14,407 total population: 8,907 (62%) White, 5,500 (38%) Black; 1950 = 12,217 total population: 7,722 (63%) White, 4,401 (36%) Black. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census Reports, 1870-1950.

[5] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census Reports, 1870-1950.

[6] *Cairo Guide*, Federal Writers Project (Cairo, Illinois: WPA, 1938), p. 57.

[7] Lansden, *op. cit.*, p. 150-51.

[8] Specific breakdown of statistics: 1900: public enrollment = 2,133 (87%), private enrollment = 272 (13%); 1913: public = 4,087 (90%), private = 414 (10%); 1920: public = 2,824 (91%), private = 265 (9%); 1930: public = 2,213 (91%), private = 205 (9%); 1940: public = 1,857 (80%), private = 366 (20%); 1950: public = 2,455 (79%), private 507 (21%); 1960: public = 2,304 (89%), private = 252 (11%). Source: *Statistical Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois* (Springfield: 1900-1960), *Illinois School Reports* (Springfield: 1900-1960), and *Annual Report of District 1, Cairo Public Schools, 1913*.

[9] Sister Matilda Barrett, S. L., "One Hundred and Fifty Years, 1812-1962," unpublished manuscript, Archives of the Loretto Motherhouse, Nerinx, Kentucky.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.* The Sisters reported that during the floods they "sometimes sat at table with their clothes tucked up and their feet on the rounds of their chairs to keep the water out of their clothes and their shoes." They viewed the fire of 1879 as an answer to prayer: It seems they were being pressed to pay off the debt on their building and so they started a novena to pray for help. On the last day of the novena, lightening struck their building and it burned to the ground. They then collected the insurance, paid off the old debt and put up a new building.

[13] Lansden, *op. cit.*, p. 139. While this change occurred at the same time as a movement in many American dioceses to modify parish structures in order to reduce ethnic friction, the main consideration in Cairo seemed to be equalize parish sizes since the division resulted in the shift of more than half the families from St. Patrick's to St. Joseph's parish. Cf. Colman Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1953), and Lansden, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[14] Quoted in Christopher Goelz, *General History of the Diocese of Belleville* (East St. Louis: The Messenger Press, 1939), p. 19.

[15] Personal interview with Mrs. Rose Bucher, long-time St. Joseph's parishioner, Cairo, IL, March 8, 1975.

[16] Revs. J. B. Diefenbrock and J. Gillen to Mother General, Cairo, IL, February 20, 1903, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[17] Contract between Rev. James Downey and Mother M. Perpetua, August 22, 1906, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[18] St. Patrick's Annual Reports, *passim*, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[19] Bulletin concerning Scale of Salaries for School Sisters of Notre Dame, January, 1920, appended to Convent Chronicle for 1920, St. Joseph's Convent, Cairo, IL.

[20] Convent Chronicles, *passim*, St. Joseph's Convent, Cairo, IL. The larger enrollment at St. Joseph's may be accounted for by there being more parishioners of parental age (and hence more children) in that parish than in St. Patrick's.

[21] St. Patrick's Annual Report, 1938-39, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN; Personal interview with Mrs. Rose Bucher, Cairo, IL, October 15, 1977.

[22] As part of the St. Patrick's school celebration of their patronal feast – St. Patrick's Day, 1943, "a service flag, white against a red background and bearing twenty-six blue stars, dedicated to the twenty-five men and one woman of the parish in the service of their country, was blessed by the Pastor before the High Mass. Two large flags, one bearing the stars and stripes and the other the papal colors were also blessed." Two months later, in the May Procession, four boys represented the various branches of the service. They were accompanied by seven boys dressed in patriotic colors. One of these "carried a red, white and blue floral 'V' as an emblem of victory and placed it at Our Lady's feet. During the procession the children's choir sang an

appropriate hymn entitled 'Dear Queen of Our Army.'" St. Patrick's Annual Report, 1942-43, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN. The more sketchy St. Joseph's convent chronicles make less note of patriotic activity. On Veterans' Day, 1926, St. Joseph's school had a special flag raising ceremony: "Children circled about the pole and sang while four little tots raised the 'Stars and Stripes,' The flag salute by the entire school was both beautiful and impressive." Convent Chronicle for 1926, St. Joseph's Convent, Cairo, IL.

[23] Goelz, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[24] Convent Chronicles, *passim*, St. Joseph's Convent, Cairo, IL.

[25] Convent Chronicle for 1920, St. Joseph's Convent, Cairo, IL. The fact that there were twice as many commercial students as college preparatory students probably stems from the fact that many students from Catholic German and Irish families could not afford college. Cairo had experienced some prosperity after the Civil War, but from 1900 onward the economic scene was bleak and after the depression hit in 1934, half of the population of the county in which Cairo was located was on relief, *Cf.* Lantz, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[26] Convent Chronicle for 1952, St. Joseph's Convent, Cairo, IL.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Personal Interview with Mrs. Flora Chambliss, Parochial School Board member, Cairo, IL, March 8, 1975.

[29] Goelz, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[30] "Short History of St. Columba's Church," typescript, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN'

[31] Very Rev. Peter Harrington to Mother M. Frances Clare, East St. Louis, IL, June 7, 1928, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Our Provinces*, no editor cited (Notre Dame, IN: St. Mary's College, 1941), p. 232. Sr. Alphonso eventually spent more than twenty years at St. Columba's.

[35] St. Columba's Annual Report, 1941-42, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[36] Very Rev. Peter Harrington to Mother M. Rose Elizabeth, East St. Louis, IL, May 17, 1945, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN. It is believed that Black non-Catholic children were sent to St. Columba's because their parents thought that they would get a better education there than in the public schools; also because the teachers there provided food and clothes for the children. These opinions were gathered from former St. Columba and public school teachers, as well as from a St. Columba Catholic parent. There are very few Black Catholics in Cairo at present. This is due not only to the high rate of Black geographic mobility, but also to the apparent lack of permanence of many of the conversions which took place in St. Columba's school.

[37] St. Columba's Annual Report, 1938-39, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[38] *Our Provinces, op. cit.*, p. 233.

[39] These organizations were: Children of Mary, Junior Holy Name Society, Altar Boys, Junior Sodality, Holy Guardian Angels Society, Boys High School Sodality and Girls High School Sodality.

[40] St. Columba's Annual Report, 1942-43, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[41] St. Columba's Annual Reports, 1941-42, 1942-43, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[42] St. Columba's Annual Report, 1939-40, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN. The depression years were very hard on everyone in Cairo: unemployment was high, bank failures were common and basic industries such as lumber suffered drastically. On several occasions the community was on the verge of collapse, which was only prevented by state and federal assistance. This period of fiscal crisis continued into the 1940's. Cf. Lantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 53,105-06.

[43] St. Columba's Annual Report, 1942-43, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[44] Only three racial references occur in all of the thirty-five annual reports for the school. One mentions the singing of the Negro National Anthem on Washington's Birthday in 1940, another mentions a visit to the school by a State Health Department physician during Negro Health Week in 1941 and the final one concerns the changing of the words "Baa, baa, black sheep" to "Baa, baa, good sheep" in a play presented in 1943, since it was believed that "the average Colored person is supersensitive to the work 'Black,'" Cf. St. Columba's Annual Reports, 1939-40, 1940-41 and 1942-43, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[45] The public schools did this by establishing an open enrollment policy in 1954. However, this policy was not very effective in achieving desegreation. Ten years later a complete desegregation plan was formulated in cooperation with Health, Education and Welfare officials. This plan was implemented during the years 1966-1968. It met with large-scale White resistance, however, and a private segregated K-12 school named "Camelot" was begun in 1969. This school is still in operation and presently enrolls 35-40% of the White children in Cairo. Cf. Various documents in the office of the Superintendent, Cairo School District Number One, especially, "Compliance with Requirements and Procedures for the Elimination and Prevention of Racial Segregation in Schools," a report to the Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction, January 25, 1972.

[46] Personal interview with Mrs. Flora Chambliss, Cairo, IL, March 8, 1975.

[47] *The Midwest Vineyard* (Newsletter of the Sisters of the Holy Cross), May 15, 1963, p. 2. St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[48] Personal interview with Mrs. Flora Chambliss, Cairo, IL, March 8, 1975.

[49] Very Rev. Peter Harrington to Mother Frances Clare, East St. Louis, IL, June 7, 1928, St. Mary's Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

[50] *Ibid.* (emphasis added).

PART IV

PROCEEDINGS

PROGRAM FOR THE MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY MEETING OF OCTOBER 28 AND 29, 1977

Friday Afternoon

1. "A COMMON FAITH FOR THE COMMON SCHOOL? RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN KANSAS, 1861-1900"

   James C. Carper, Tulane University

2. "EDUCATING 'WATCH CITY': THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS, 1840-1880"

   George M. Woytanowitz, Boston College

3. "'THE MOST ORDERED OF RESCUES': A REINTERPRETATION OF CHILDHOOD HISTORY AND THE COMMON SCHOOL"

   R. L. Schnell, The University of Calgary

Friday Evening

1. "THE LIVELY EDUCATIONAL JOURNALISTS, 1875-1900"

   Harold B. Dunkel, The University of Chicago

2. "SCHOOLS AND 'SAVAGES': A PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF HOPI EDUCATION, 1887-1917"

   David Adams, Cleveland State University

Saturday Morning

1. "THE URBAN SUPERINTENDENCY AND THE DEPRESSION: THE CASE OF THOMAS WARRINGTON GOSLING, AKRON, OHIO: 1928-34"

   Gregory L. Hinson, Akron Public Schools
   Charles M. Dye, The University of Akron

2. "CONSERVATION AND PROSELYTIZATION: A STUDY OF ETHNICALLY DIFFERENTIATED PAROCHIAL EDUCATION IN CAIRO, ILLINOIS"

   Robert Newton Barger, Eastern Illinois University

MINUTES OF THE 1977
MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY

October 29, 1977

The annual business meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society met at the Marquette Center of Loyola University at 11:15 a.m., President Edward McClellan called the meeting to order. The minutes of the 1976 meeting, as printed in the Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society, were unanimously approved.

Under old business, Chairman McClellan explained to the Society the plans regarding the 1978 joint meeting with the History of Education Society and the thought behind the decisions that were made in regard to the meeting. The Pick-Congress Hotel of Chicago will host the 1978 joint meeting to be held during the last weekend in October.

Under new business, the following slate of 1978 officers for MHES were introduced by the nominating committee:

President--Peter DeBoer, Calvin College

Vice-President--William Eaton, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Secretary--Charles M. Dye, University of Akron

This slate was unanimously approved as recommended.

It was moved by Frank Nelson, seconded by William Eaton to offer the thanks of the Society to Rosemary Donatelli, Gerald Gutek, and the others of Loyola University who so graciously assisted and hosted the Society.

President McClelland also thanked Vice-President DeBoer for the high quality of this year's program.

The Meeting was adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

Respectfully submitted,

William Eaton
Secretary, M.H.E.S.

11.3

MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY

Directory of Attendance 1977

David Adams – Cleveland State University
James D. Anderson – University of Illinois, Urbana
James Ansbro – Loyola University of Chicago
Zita Asay – Loyola University of Chicago
Robert N. Barger – Eastern Illinois University
Mrs. Robert N. Barger
Stephen Bower – Indiana University
James A. Carper – Tulane University
Stephen Colby – Loyola University of Chicago
Peter Collins – Marquette University
John Craig – University of Chicago
Randall Dattoli – Loyola University of Chicago
Peter P. DeBoer – Calvin College
Mrs. Peter DeBoer
Rosemary V. Donatelli – Loyola University of Chicago
Harold B. Dunkel – University of Chicago
Mrs. Harold B. Dunkel – University of Chicago
Charles M. Dye – The University of Akron
William Eaton – Southern Illinois University
Gerald Flood – Villanova University
Janet Fredericks – Loyola University of Chicago
Marcel Fredericks – Loyola University of Chicago
Gerald L. Gutek – Loyola University of Chicago
George Hanson – Loyola University of Chicago
June Heinrich – Loyola University of Chicago
Walter J. Kelly – Chicago State University
Lambert Kempkes – Loyola University of Chicago
Shirley Kersey – University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Walter P. Krolikowski – Loyola University of Chicago
Patricia Kurriger – College of DuPage
Michael M. Lee – Loyola University of Chicago
Neil Lloyd – Chicago Public Schools
Robert L. McCaul – University of Chicago
B. Edward McClellan – Indiana University
John R. Mook – Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh
Frank C. Nelsen – University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
David Owen – University of Chicago
Eben O. Palmquist – Loyola University of Chicago
David B. Ripley – Northern Illinois University
Edward Rutkowski – University of Northern Iowa
Charles E. Samec – Cicero (Illinois) Public Schools
R. L. Schnell – The University of Calgary
Stephen W. Sellers – University of Chicago
W. Richard Stephens – Greenville College
Paul C. Violas – University of Illinois, Urbana
Mrs. Paul C. Violas
Harold Wechsler – University of Chicago
Barry H. Westfall – Carthage College
George M. Woytanowitz – Boston College
Gregor Zellhofer – Loyola University of Chicago